

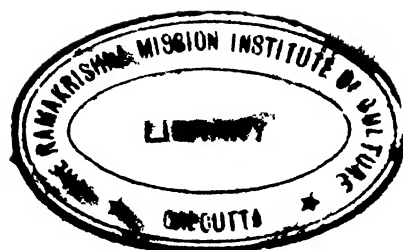
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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LXXVII.

1883.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART. I.—OLD LAMPS FOR NEW ONES.

MR. ILBERT'S proposed Amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code has led to the discovery of not a few anomalies in our Indian body politic, and also to a certain amount of plain speaking about them which has been acceptable to such of us as are not inclined to think conventionality an embodiment and essence of all the virtues.

Even the debate in the usually starched and staid Viceregal Council on the introduction of this ill-judged measure was a real one.

Incidentally, upon one of the anomalies, one of the dark corners of the house we Anglo-Indians have to live in, some unaccustomed light has been thrown by this debate, and the criticisms it has called forth. We refer to the habit of perjury which, in this country, vitiates and so often renders of no effect all our learnedly devised legal machinery for the administration of justice, the protection of the weak, and the punishment of evil-doers. Everybody in India (with the exception of the Viceroy, perhaps) knows of its existence. Every Englishman in India is ready to deplore and to denounce it—in the abstract. But just because everybody knows, and is more or less concerned about, it from a moral point of view, it is assumed that it is nobody's business to try and do away with the iniquity—not even the business of the missionaries, who are, as a rule, so commendably ready to concern themselves with iniquities, and never seem to tire of anathematising the opium trade, or the excise laws, or the toleration by Government of religious opinions not based on Christianity. It is, in short, an anomaly that has been allowed to arrogate to itself

privileges and exemptions that are in direct opposition to the existing criminal law, that must always, we may venture to say, be opposed to any possible criminal law even of Mr. Ilbert's drafting, an anomaly really dangerous to the commonwealth, and mischievous exceedingly in scope and practice. Incidentally, as we have said, the debate in the Viceregal Council brought prominently to notice the existence and the power for mischief of this anomaly, and showed it to be worthy of more attention than has been hitherto bestowed upon it by the public, and surely entitled to some consideration at the hands of a Government with pronounced hankerings after ideal justice and righteousness.

Sir Stuart Bayley, a man who, by dint of some power of sympathy and an official experience extending over many years, has become well acquainted with the circumstances and habits of the people of Bengal and Behar, referred to "the real danger" Europeans living in the mofussil are exposed to, because of false cases trumped up against them. Mr. Thomas, another official of long standing in the Civil Service, a man who, being a diligent sportsman as well as a painstaking Judge, has had exceptional opportunities of getting at real conditions of life in the Madras Presidency, gave it as his opinion that "false complaints are every-day circumstances of mofussil life." Mr. Robert Miller, a Calcutta merchant, with a large knowledge of business in India, and many friends amongst natives with whom he has been associated in business-matters, said, with reference to the contention that the Ilbert Bill is only a trifle:—"It is not a trifle, for one of the most common crimes, I will not say one of the ingrained customs, of this country is the fabrication of false evidence in the courts of Law." And, again, further on in his speech: "False evidence is cheap." Mr. Evans referred to notable instances of perjury coming within his own cognizance as a practising Barrister in India, and also to the well known Meares and Stevens cases. Here is an extract from his speech as reported in the newspapers:—

"In this country criminal trials almost entirely depend upon oral evidence in nine cases out of ten, and, depending upon oral evidence, we have to consider what are the conditions of oral evidence in India. I will not read passages, for I do not wish to give unnecessary offence. I will not read those passages to the Council which are to be found in every digest of Privy Council cases as to the lamentable state of things in regard to oral evidence in the mofussil in India. We all know it; we all regret it."

In the Viceroy's Council, indeed, even amongst the supporters of the Ilbert Bill, there was no attempt made to repudiate the charge of wholesale, persistent perjury, brought against the natives of India. All then arguments were based on a ground either of sentimentality,

or supposed convenience. Even Dr. Hunter fought shy of what we may perhaps be allowed to call the perjury side of the argument, although the worthy Doctor in a book entitled "Our Indian Mussulmans" which was published not many years ago, wrote thus:—"The Bengalee, whether rich or poor, wreaks his malice on a rival, and seeks his revenge against an enemy not by inconsiderate violence, but by due course of law. He uses the courts for the same purpose for which an Englishman employs a horse-whip, or a Californian his bowie knife. A criminal prosecution is the correct form for inflicting personal chastisement, and a general suspension in India of what corresponds to the *Habeas Corpus* Act would place every man at the mercy of his enemies. The Police returns in India disclose an overwhelming proportion of false complaints to true ones, and the Bengali has reduced the rather perilous business of making out a *prima-facie* case to an exact science. A formal interference with the right of *Habeas Corpus* would give the signal for a paroxysm of perjury. The innocent would live in constant fear of being thrown into prison, and kept there on false charges of treason, the revengeful and malicious, would enjoy a perpetual triumph."

By the way, there used to be a story current in Anglo-Indian society some forty years ago of a gentleman, a rabbit fancier, who one day asked the man in charge of his rabbits, what had become of a handsome black buck for which he felt a particular regard. The man pointed to a wretched looking white doe in the hutch usually occupied by the black buck and swore by all the Gods and Ganges waters that the sun's effulgence had translated his master's favourite from black to white, and effected a change of sex into the bargain. The full glare and glory of a viceregal sun seems to have had a similar effect upon Mr. Quinton, and converted what was black with him at Allahabad into white in Calcutta. But this is a digression.

Lord Macaulay, although the period of his stay in India was comparatively short, yet felt himself obliged to use very strong language about the prevalence and superfluity of perjury in India—in Bengal especially. From time to time other men, some of whom have lived in India in an official capacity, some as interlopers, men anxious to promote good-will and good-feeling between natives and Europeans, have lamented this unfortunate national habit, and the quiet acquiescence of the educated classes in it. We need not repeat what they have said. It would be work of supererogation, the more's the pity. It is a sad, stern, fact that perjury is rampant in India. As Mr. Evans said in his speech in the Viceregal Council Chamber, "we all know it." Some of us, whose lot in life it has been to dwell in the mofussil,

amongst the people, speaking their language and hearing always about their joys and troubles, know, too, know, only too well, what a curse, what a fruitful mother of wrongs, oppressions and disgraces to humanity, the prevalence of perjury in India is. Nevertheless, all of us, in greater or less degree aid and abet the iniquity, for we do nothing, and try to do nothing, to stamp it out from our midst. Magistrates and Judges shrug their shoulders when they are asked why they do not try; make a mountain of the legal difficulties in the way of convictions for perjury; say, probably in so many words, that if they allowed a criminal prosecution to follow all cases of manifest perjury coming under their official ken, the courts would be swamped with trials for perjury, that there would ensue a most inconvenient, impossible to be seriously thought of, deadlock in the administration of justice—chaos come again; and, in short, they aver that they are helpless in the matter. Non-officials shrug their shoulders, too, and content themselves with doing what they can to safeguard themselves, deeming it mere waste of energy to kick against official pricks in India, knowing probably of their interloper experience that it is usually often dangerous to kick.

In the early days of British rule in India, different opinions prevailed. There was not this slothful tendency to collusion and the condonation of crime. Perjury was held to be an offence against the law, a crime dangerous to society, and, therefore, to be prevented and punished. In Mr. Seton Karr's *Selections from old Calcutta Gazettes*, we find Sir William Jones in his charge to the Grand Jury at Calcutta in 1787, referring to the untrustworthiness of the evidence given by natives of the lower orders, and urging upon all and sundry concerned that perjury ought to be most severely punished, "as an example to others." He also commented on the prevalence of the crime, as evidenced in the frequency of committals for perjury by Subordinate Courts, and he urged all Magistrates and Judges to exert themselves actively in the repression and punishment of a wickedness so foul, and fraught with such perils to the cause of law and good order. Again, the next year, in his charge to the Grand Jury at the half-yearly sessions, at which four persons stood committed for perjury, or subornation of perjury, he said, that "if the laws were to be thus openly disregarded all hope of administering justice must be abandoned, and the public must abandon all hope of security to their persons and property: to this there can be no other check, but just and exemplary punishment."

Sir William Jones, indeed, was so convinced of the evil effect and the danger attending a proneness to perjury in a people, that he was willing even to strain the law with a view to stamping out

the mischief. At least he hunted up an old, obsolete statute of Queen Elizabeth's which enacts as a punishment proper for a perjurer the infliction upon him of an indelible mark, "to the utter loss of his credit and reputation." It is therefore my wish, said the learned Judge, after citing this bit of rusty law, "It is therefore my wish that the indictments should be grounded on this statute, for though the proof should fall short of conviction within the terms of it, the punishment by the common law may still be awarded."

Nor was perjury regarded as a venial offence on the other side of India, in the early days of English rule. Here is an extract from a later volume of Mr. Seton-Karr's *Selections* under date the 16th December 1802:—"Ramsouder Sircar, for perjury before the Court of Commissioners for the recovery of small debts, to be transported for seven years." Again, here is a clipping taken from the *Bombay Courier* of the 27th April 1805:—

"Proceedings of the Court of Oyer and Terminer.

"The Jury in the case of Jacob Petrusse, Armenian, having returned a verdict, finding the prisoner guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury * * *

"The Hon'ble the Recorder, in his judgment said, that the crime of wilful and corrupt perjury had been made out in the clearest and most convincing manner, and the Court was bound to pronounce an exemplary sentence on the prisoner. That sentence was, that he stand in the pillory four times within the ensuing week, and one hour each time, and be transported to Pulo Penang for seven years; that he be put into the pillory once before the Armenian Church, during the time of divine service, once in the most conspicuous part of the bazar, once at Mazagon, and once at Mahim; and each time to have a label on his breast and back on which is to be written:—*An infamous false swearer; he perjured himself to cheat the poor of his own religion and nation. He is transported for seven years, to work as a slave at Pulo Penang. Such is the punishment of perjury.*"

Other instances might be adduced; but a multiplication of them might prove wearisome. We have brought forward a sufficient number to show that, in the olden time, Indian officials were bidden and encouraged to look upon perjury as a crime, and that the superior courts helped their endeavours to stamp it out. Now-a-days, the lower courts, judged by the evidence of their own records, do not regard perjury as a crime, make no attempts to check its paramount authority in all legal processes, do, indeed, because of their apathy, aid and abet those malversations of justice which the employers of perjured evidence desire. The superior courts for

their part, look on unconcernedly, and are as supine as they well can be.

Englishmen pride themselves on the improvements effected in the administration of law and justice since the early days of England's rule in India—on the introduction of a reign of law, it might well be said. They have reason. But as to this matter of perjury, (naturally and necessarily one of the main hinges, or pivots, upon which the administration of the law turns) is our latter day, 19th century system of *laissez faire* better than the old 18th century system of repression and prevention? Are our new lamps better than their old ones? We think not. As to this matter of perjury and its punishment, we should like to see a return to the old order of control. It is notorious that more than half the criminal cases brought before the courts in this country, are either false cases from beginning to end, manufactured out of no fact, out of nothing beyond depraved imagination, greed, and ill-will. Or they are very trivial cases, enlarged and fraudulently improved upon by the same agency. In civil suits, although there are not usually so many opportunities for the profitable employment of suborned witnesses as there are in criminal cases, yet there are too many opportunities, and the perjury market is not depressed therefore. Probably more than half the convicts now working out their sentences in Indian jails are not guilty of the crimes for which they are being punished. There are some cynically inclined people in India who are prepared to admit this frankly enough, but then they seek to excuse the injustice on the plea that, if these convicts are not actually guilty of the crimes for which they are suffering punishment, they have surely been guilty at some period of their existence of similar crimes of which they do not happen to have been formally accused, and, therefore, they richly deserve their imprisonment. Too many people who ought to know better are not ashamed to argue thus. But is theirs a worthy argument, a tolerable one even? Would the Englishmen who make use of it in India care to maintain it before their countrymen in England? The eye sees only what it brings the power to see, Mr. Carlyle says. If they could be brought to *see*, to realize, the greatness of the injustice, the tale of the misery, a sentence of imprisonment so often entails, not only on the man imprisoned, but also on his helpless family, we do not think they would talk so glibly and unfeelingly about the uses and results of perjury, even when talking to Anglo-Indians. It should be remembered in this connexion that, over and above filling our jails with innocent people, it is the prevalence of perjury that goes far towards making our Indian police force the terror and scourge it is to peaceable, law-abiding village folk,

and for the matter of that town folk, too, all over the country. The rich man who has a grudge against his poor neighbour, and desires to ruin him, has only to bribe the police, and the police will forthwith get up a false case, and by means of suborned witnesses manage probably to secure a conviction against the victim—of theft, or grievous hurt, what not that may be desired—murder even, if bribe-money is forthcoming in sufficient quantities. When the police are in the perjury market, it soon gets glutted, and a man's evidence goes for an old song, goes just with a hope of securing the good-will of the *Darogajee* and very often without money-payment of any sort. Or, if money is in demand, four annas will go a long way. Were it not for practically unlimited supplies of perjury, the Mofussil police would have not a tithe of the power they wield now, and use so arbitrarily and cruelly, so much to the disadvantage of the people for whose protection they are ideally supposed to exist.

We have referred to the notion that Magistrates dare not sanction prosecutions for perjury, lest the Courts all over the country should be swamped and overwhelmed with an avalanche of perjury cases, and the machinery available for the administration of justice be brought to a standstill. We are not inclined to attach much weight to this contention. If Magistrates and Judges could make up their minds to administer the law of the land with regard to perjury as the law enjoins, and as they must know it is their bounden duty to administer it, some difficulties and inconveniences, a seemingly overwhelming press of business would, it is likely enough, have to be encountered at first. But, this once tided over, the courts would have far less work to do, and far less dirty work than they have now. And even if some congestion of business did occur in the beginning of the new dispensation, it could not last long. If manifest perjurers and the traffickers in perjured evidence were made clearly to understand, by dint of unsparing examples and prompt punishments, that the giving of false evidence, or the procuration of other people to give false evidence, is an offence against the law which the administrators of that law are determined to punish, a check would very soon be put upon the habit of wholesale perjury which disgraces our courts now. The risk the perjurer would have to run then, would be real and appreciable, and if not actually deterred from the exercise of his talent by fear of punishment, the man of oaths would at least demand payment in proportion to the hazard of his undertaking. His selling price would so rise in the market, that the said market would be closed to all but wealthy patrons, and they again would be afraid to indulge largely in a luxury likely enough to land them in prison. As

things go now, the man who perjures himself runs no appreciable risk at all, and is content with a fee of four annas, or even less than that. A habit of perjury does not militate against his caste, and he is not thought any the worse of amongst his fellows because of it. Nor is his employer worse thought of amongst the men who are his equals and associates.

It would be well for men of light and leading in the native community to devote some attention to this habit of perjury, and to strive for reform, for a rooting out from their midst of the loathsome, cankered sore that has eaten into the very heart of their social life, preventing and hindering moral growth, and making that life unlovely, and of ill repute. Local Self-Government is a very good thing in its way; but ability for Local Self-Government is a better. Such ability seems to us quite incompatible with a toleration of wholesale perjury. Until, at any rate, the leading men, and the well educated natives of this country, cease to regard perjury as a very venial sin, if a sin at all; until they heartily denounce it, and give proof of their sincerity by making vigorous fight against it, we do not think that in all the radical gamut of breathless political reforms there is one at all likely to be of the least use to India.

JNO. HOOLEY.

ART. II.—CAPELLO AND IVENS; THEIR EXPLORATIONS IN AFRICA.—1877-1880.

THE names of these two officers of the Portuguese Navy have been placed at the head of this article, because they adhered to the orders issued by the Government to the "so-called African Portuguese Expedition" to make the Cu-ango, a great river which flows from south to north between the 17th and 19th degree of east longitude, Greenwich, into the Congo-Zaire, their chief object of investigation, as well as to determine all the geographical relations existing between the Cu-ango and the western coast. It would no doubt have produced a greater effect in Europe to have crossed the Continent, but the distance travelled by the two explorers was above four thousand kilometres, and consequently greater than that between Benguela on the west and Sofala on the east coast in a straight line. This task has been performed by others and also by Major Serpa Pinto, whose work is well known and has appeared in English. He was a member of this "African Portuguese Expedition," but thought proper to separate himself therefrom and to continue his journey alone. H. Capello and R. Ivens only once allude to him in their work,* but as he had thought proper to state in his first volume, in the chapter headed, "Twenty Days of Agony" that they had abandoned him at Caconda in a dangerous and hostile country, they found it necessary to exculpate themselves by explaining the whole matter in a prefatory note consisting of several pages, from which it would appear that the separation had at least outwardly taken place in an amicable manner, and that they had given him not only a number of carriers with goods to barter for victuals, but also various instruments for taking observations.

In September 1877, when the explorers were at Luanda, the capital of the Portuguese province of Angola, they began their preparations, and the questions how much money, goods, muskets

*De Benguela as terras de Jacca, descripção de uma viagem na Africa central e occidental. Por H. Capello e R. Ivens, officiaes da-armada real. Expedição organizada nos annos de 1877-1880. Edição illustrada. Lisboa, 1881, 2 vols.

After finishing this article I was informed that an English edition of

the Portuguese work had just appeared. Not having seen it, I can say nothing about it; but still believe my article to be useful, as it embodies in a small compass all the chief results attained by the explorers and narrated by them: in two bulky volumes, containing a great deal of gossip and irrelevant matter.

and men to carry them were required, presented themselves for solution. The blacks near the coast, who consider themselves civilized, were unwilling to enter the service of mere explorers who merely wished to satisfy their curiosity and not to trade, but to march along unknown tracks. Moreover, cannibalism is so much dreaded, that the people are under the impression that they will incur the danger not only of being attacked but of being devoured. The information given by the latest travellers, regarding the manner of practically organizing African caravans of carriers is very scanty, as Stanley has well observed in his work "How I found Livingstone," and they say nothing about the value, quality, or quantity of the goods most necessary for a traveller to take, or the burden for each carrier. All these difficulties had to be dealt with, but the greatest was the engaging of carriers, and this having proved insurmountable, a further stay at Luanda was considered useless. The explorers accordingly sailed to Novo Redondo where they made contracts with the greater portion of the men they required, and thence to Benguela, the port where the illustrious Cameron had terminated his journey, and whence theirs, which lasted six hundred days, began.

Benguela is situated in $12^{\circ} 34' 17''$ S. Lat. and $13^{\circ} 22' 30''$ E. Long Greenwich, on the western coast of Africa. It is the capital of a vast district, divided into the *concelhos* of Dombe Grande and Pequeno, Egito, Novo Redondo, Catumbella, Quillengues, Caconda, &c., embracing a territory of about 15,000 square miles. Although Benguela is a dependency of the Central Government, the seat of which is in Luanda, the official who administers it can be appointed from Lisbon only. The most important structures are the public buildings, such as the Place (residence of the Governor), the barracks, custom-house, and the hospital. The fort on the sea shore is a resort for inhaling the evening breeze. These edifices are not elegant, but spacious, clean, and arranged in regular streets well planted with trees. Here and there numerous mercantile establishments, in which the most important business of Benguela is transacted, are scattered about, but their architecture is even more simple and antiquated. The native streets are narrow, tortuous, full of stinking thatched huts, but have also here and there enclosures of high walls, which intercept the air and contain hundreds of blacks from the interior, many of whom are in a state of almost perfect nudity. Scenes of riot and drunkenness occur nightly.

The life of Europeans in Benguela is entirely absorbed by commercial transactions. They are constantly on the alert for the

Departure from Benguela,
Dombe, Quillengues.—N'gola,
Habitations of termites.—
Receiving an African chief.—
Portuguese station of Caconda.—
Excursion to the river
Cunene and return to Caconda.

caravans which enter, the news which arrive, the produce that is brought, the ruling prices, and trade with the natives. In the trade of Benguela, which is still in the hands of the Portuguese, nearly all the important products of the interior are included, namely, ivory, wax, rhinoceros' horns, resins, *licombe*,* skins, feathers, caoutchouc and canes, which are generally bartered for such articles, as arms, gunpowder, cloth, &c. Commercial houses were in the habit of sending agents into the interior, but as some died and others ran away, goods are at present brought in exclusively by natives who trade on their own account.

The explorers started on their march towards the sources of the river Cu-ango on the 12th of November 1877, and reached their destination more than six months after that date. From the track of the journey on the large map appended to their work, it appears that, far from taking the nearest direction, they travelled as much as possible in the vicinity of rivers. Taking first a south-east course as far as Nangola $14^{\circ}, 16', 46''$ S. Lat, and then marching north-east, they reached the Cu-ango, as will be described. The littoral portion of the Continent about Benguela was found to be of little importance and arid, but in the vicinity of Dombe ($12^{\circ}, 55', 11''$ S. Lat., $13^{\circ}, 47', 44''$ E. Long. Greenwich) extensive plantations of sugar-cane were encountered, and several agriculturists possess factories, in one of which the explorers were hospitably entertained by the proprietor Sr. J. Reis; but the natives who are dispersed in the small hamlets of the district, appear to be in a wretched state of poverty; their whole dress consists of a dirty rag suspended by a rope from the waist and of a hollow wooden ring on the right leg, or brass wristlet. The ring contains some grains which produce a peculiar noise when a man walks. The females are generally ugly, but the streaks of white and red paint which they apply to their faces, and the loam with which they charge their hair, makes them repulsive. Here the explorers were prostrated by fever and detained till the 4th December, when they started again, and met the next day one of the ordinary hamlets of the district, and called *senzala* or *banza*. It was enclosed by a stockade about 50 metres long, and as many broad; in this square a dozen dark huts made of mud-covered poles, with conical roofs of grass, could be seen. A number of half-naked women, surrounded by hens and pigs, sat near the huts, and the headman, called *soba*, a man of advanced age, approaching the travellers, asked them through their interpreter, whence they were coming, where going, what they did, or traded in, and many other questions. The interview

* Fibres of the *Adansonia digitata*,

terminated with the offer of a lean hen, and a gourd of *garapa* (native beer made of maize) for which the old man received four yards of striped cloth. On the 12th December the explorers arrived at Quillengues, and, astronomically determining its position, found it to be $14^{\circ}, 03', 10''$ S. Lat. and $14^{\circ}, 05', 03''$ E. Long. from Greenwich. This region constitutes, as a *concelho*, a portion of the vast district of Benguela. It is bounded on the north by Dombe, on the north-east by Caconda, on the south-east by Quipungo and Umputa, and on the south by Huilla and Jau. Its area is about 4,000 square miles and its population not less than 10,000 persons, living in 5,000 habitations, calculating on an average two individuals per habitation or square mile, or at 300 *senzalas*, each having 25 or 30 huts. The climate may be considered bearable, and but little injurious to a careful European. Maize, *massumbala* (sorghum,) manioc, potatoes, *inhame* (which appears to be the *Discorea alata*), *ginguba* (*Arachis hypogea*), the sugar-cane, various indigenous fruits, and others, such as melons and potherbs, all grow there in abundance. The habitation of the chief of the *concelho* consists of a large rectangular stockade, the longer side of which is about 200 metres long, with a small fort, having on each side a gun, and 15 habitations inside. Quillengues is situated on the left bank of the river Calunga, the sources of which are to the south, on the spurs of a great chain of mountains, and it is well provided with water from this river.

Having started on the 1st January 1878 from Quillengues, the caravan reached, on the 4th, the great *banza* of N'gola, belonging to the *soba* Tchimbarandungo, and situated on the brook of Cu-tota. Here the aspect of the soil was singular; covered in all directions with habitations of termites, from 2 to 3 metres high, it resembled during the day a vast encampment of an army, and in the night an extensive cemetery full of graves. Here the explorers had for the first time occasion to meet an African chief with formality in their camp; for, Tchimbarandungo paid them a visit. After considering whether he ought to be received in a standing or sitting posture, the latter was adopted, the explorers buttoned their coats, put on their helmets, assumed an air of great importance, and waited for his arrival. He soon made his appearance, wearing a dress of striped cloth, a bonnet woven of palm leaves on his head, a leopard skin over his shoulders, and holding a javelin in his hand. He approached the travellers smiling frankly, shaking them by the hand entirely according to the European fashion in the friendliest manner; his aspect was, however repugnant, and his suspicious glances, with his bedaubed tresses, augured

badly of future visits from *sobas* yet more distant from contact with Europeans.

The chief, surrounded by his followers, having seated himself, began the conversation, which turned principally on the subject and intention of the journey. After a while he appeared to be expecting something, and some one having suggested that a certain liquor, for which the *soba* was said to entertain special predilection should be produced, a keg was brought forth, the appearance of which suddenly exhilarated the countenances of all present. Tchimbarandungo, although burning with the desire to gulp down a cup at once, was obliged to submit to the usages of his country, and, passing it to the interpreter, requested him to taste it, in order to convince himself that the beverage offered contained no poison. This demand having been complied with, he swallowed the contents of the vessel at one draught. Then the cups passed round several times, and he appeared to enjoy a right of percentage over them, because no one was allowed to have a drink before the master had first tasted it. The guns and revolvers, which were also passed from hand to hand, excited the astonishment of all. To give the explorers a proof of his confidence, the chief then rose and went to his habitation to bring his wife and daughters, whom he desired to introduce to them, but asked a flagon more for the journey. Half an hour afterwards he returned with the said ladies, and an ox as a gift, which he desired to be slaughtered in his presence. Tchimbarandungo was already drunk. His comic antics and attempts at dancing, considerably lowered the dignity of the chief in the opinion of the explorers, but not of his courtiers, who, being accustomed to such scenes, attached no importance whatever to them. His wife, a strange creature, far from beautiful, had long tresses hanging down to her sides, and her neck adorned with an enormous collar in which every kind of beads and shells to be met with in the establishments on the coast, was displayed with horns of antelopes, and other not less extraordinary objects; she was completely wrapped up in a cloth of dubious colour, and looked about bewildered, apparently unable to form any connected ideas about her surroundings, and expressing her astonishment by the interjections: *eh! eh! oah!*

The sky having become overcast and a shower of rain having begun, it was necessary to admit Tchimbarandungo into the tent, where he perceived the keg, and forthwith proposed to his family to partake of its contents. The lady manifested the highest satisfaction at the invitation of her august spouse, and sipping

a social cup with her daughters, prepared another which they accepted with extreme alacrity.

The rain continued, and was said to be a real blessing long expected in the country, which the *soba* attributed to the arrival of the Europeans, in honour of whom, he said, he would order the sacrifice of a man, to show them his power. "A man! by no means!" exclaimed the travellers, "we renounce the honour of marking our passage through your country by the shedding of human blood." Representations having been made to him regarding the iniquity of such a proceeding, he muttered something which the interpreter explained to mean, that such a discussion was inconvenient to the *soba* in the presence of his own people, but that tyrannical acts of that kind maintained the necessary terror. Meanwhile the amiable daughters of the chief persistently continued to ask for needles and thread, and at last obtained enough to establish a little shop. Then the visitors were taken out of the encampment to see the death of the ox, and when they been made to squat at a proper distance, a shot was fired at the animal which killed it instantly.

Tchimbarandungo was delirious with joy, and desired to explain to his courtiers the terrible effects of a musket-ball; but his intoxication did not allow him to speak. At last this chief with his family and courtiers departed.

On the 8th the explorers reached the Portuguese station of Caconda, the road to which was flanked by plantations of manioc, maize, sugar-cane, potatoes, &c. Caconda is even now one of the most interesting localities of the vast province of Angola. Being the seat of a *concelho* and subject to the district of Benguela, it has a commander who resides in a fort with a frontage of 60 metres and situated 1,642 metres above the level of the sea. Its position, having been astronomically determined, was found to be 13°, 44' S. Lat. and 15°, 2', 35" E. Long. from Greenwich. The altitude, moderate temperature, suavity of the climate, beauty of the fields, profusion of fruitful plants, the freshness of its water, and transparency of its brooks promised for this district a reputation of superiority over others in the interior, but its population does not exceed 8,000 inhabitants, giving only two per square mile.

Caconda is not altogether inhabited by Africans, but contains an admixture of Europeans who possess houses there, and trade. In a commercial point of view the place is far from what it was in former times; it is nevertheless still the point of transit of the Canguela caravans which bring ivory and wax from the east to the market of Benguela, marching to the coast by the direct road, that is to say, through the region of Caluquembe and Dombe

Pequeno. When agriculture becomes developed, and as soon as Caconda shall be connected by a regular road with Benguela, it may hope for a rich future, considering that sugar-cane, cotton, and rice can be produced in abundance. In this place the explorers had the pleasure of meeting the Portuguese naturalist, José de Anchieta, who had been already twelve years in Africa, and published several works.

From Caconda an excursion was made to the river Cu-nene, which flows towards the coast and discharges itself into the ocean under Lat. $17^{\circ} 25'$ S. Along the banks of this river the explorers marched 30 kilometres and found it to contain several islands. Its bed was granitic and its breadth nearly 50 metres; great numbers of hippopotamuses and crocodiles were observed in the water. In this picturesque region flocks of antelopes were encountered, especially the *Oryx gazella*, with long straight antlers, the *Hippotragus niger*, with enormous crooked ones; also herds of buffaloes, stags and zebras. An African land proprietor, bearing however the Portuguese name, Matheus Gomes Pereira, accompanied the explorers in this excursion, with four dozen men and women, all of whom were in the service of his house, and this following increased gradually to an alarming extent; their noisy music and dances at every halting-place excited the disgust of the Europeans. Their monotonous dances are accompanied by horrible yellings as well as disgusting postures.

Two days after leaving the banks of the Cu-nene, the residence of the Portuguese commandant was again reached on the 11th February.

When the expedition left Caconda, ninety-four days had elapsed since its departure from Benguela. The explorers marched eastwards from Caconda with the intention of passing through the district of Ruigolo, parallel to the Ulondo mountains, which stretch out about 150 miles, and the abundant rivulets flowing southwards across the route afforded the carriers of the baggage, who were about fifty in number, each loaded with a weight of seventy pounds, plenty of opportunities of quenching their thirst.

On the 26th February the explorers reached Cassanhe $9^{\circ} 35', 20''$ S. Lat., $17^{\circ} 56', 30''$ E Long. The most important fact concerning this locality is, that, when a chief dies, his body must be exposed to the public till his successor is elected. The corpse is wrapped up in a piece of cloth and suspended on a tree, near which also a grave is dug to receive it as soon as the new chief has been acclaimed. After a troublesome march in rainy weather, the

Cassanhe.—Belmonte in the Bihe district.—Sufferings from fever.—Watershed between the great river systems of the Congo-Zaire and the Zambeze.—The people, and their character.—Cangombo the residence of Quilemo.—The interview.—Sources of the Cu-anza determined.—Difficulties in hiring baggage-carriers.—Departure.

explorers arrived on the 8th March in the Bihe district and were received at Belmonte 12°, 21', 49" S. Lat., 16°, 42', 30" E. Long. in the habitation of the Portuguese merchant, Silva Porto, whose *senzala*, here called *libata*, consisted of a rectangular stockade, the interior of which contained various habitations protected by the shade of numerous sycamore trees from the rays of the sun, as well as a garden with lemons, oranges, and a variety of European potherbs.

Forced to make a prolonged stay in the Bihe district, the explorers erected a habitation for the purpose of giving shelter to their followers, at a distance of 2 miles from Belmonte, in a high position covered by a dense forest on the right bank of the Cu-ito, and the whole structure was finished in the brief space of four days. Fever here seized both the explorers with desperate energy, attacking alternately the one or the other of them daily from eight till nine o'clock in the morning. An unpleasant sensation of cold was the first symptom, which gradually became more intense and prostrated the patient, who soon afterwards began to vomit, and lastly perspired abundantly after being extremely dry. In the afternoon relief generally ensued and refreshments were taken, but the weakness which gradually overtook the victims was such, that, after suffering thus for several weeks, they were unable to walk. Meanwhile the rains continued, and long hours were whiled away by the fireside whilst the storm raged outside.

During their enforced sojourn the two travellers employed themselves in collecting various kinds of information:—Bihe is the chief point of departure of caravans marching to the interior, and one of the commercial centres best known to the western districts, whence travellers desirous to penetrate into the eastern regions; Cassongo, Telioboco, Garanganja, Catauga, Canunguessa, Gengi, and Bucusso being all connected by commercial tracks with the district of Bihe.

These districts undoubtedly constitute the extreme west of the extensive and high region of the watershed line of the great river-systems of the Congo-Zaire and the Zambeze, which, extending towards the north-east, has on the one side the Cu-anza, the Cu-ango, the Tchicapa, the Cassoi and the Lu-alaba, and on the other the Cu-bango, the Cu-ito, Cu-ando, the Liba, &c. Passing at last to the south of Benguecolo, or Pemba, it terminates in the east on the table-land of Lubiza. The general configuration is a system of plains, intersected by valleys of slender depth. The mean height is 4,570 metres. Supposing this watershed to extend 80 miles from east to west, and 100 from north to south, we obtain a surface of 8,000, and taking two inhabitants as the minimum per square mile, we obtain a population of 16,000 unequally distributed, as on the rest of the great Continent.

Here the original traits and the special physiognomy of savage life begin to manifest themselves in a particular manner. The people of Bihe, who are great wanderers, have adopted many customs of distant tribes, and constitute a strange medley. As they are extremely cunning and avaricious, travellers in these parts must be on their guard; having, moreover, for a long time been in contact with white men, they are addicted to intoxication and thieving, the two first-fruits to the Negro of the advent of civilisation. In every district a European is always well received by the chiefs, but he must use the greatest circumspection, or he will lose everything he possesses. It must, however, not be imagined that this assertion implies the idea of violent robbery; on the contrary, they pilfer a stranger with great delicacy and caution till he is reduced to misery.

It would be impossible to give an idea of the moral and physical degradation of the population, for which the climate seems to be responsible. The weather being neither very hot nor very cold, the negro needs no shelter against its inclemency; accordingly he "requires a house and clothes more as luxuries than necessities, and the fertility of the soil easily satisfies the cravings of his stomach. Slavery, from which they suffered in former times, also accustomed them to vagabondage, and extinguished family-life, so that the nearest relations separate and do not even recognize themselves afterwards. The women are more active and laborious than the men, but shame is far from existing among them; thus, for instance, one of the baggage-carriers of the explorers had fallen a victim to the allurements of a nymph who often visited the encampment for the purpose of enticing him; afterwards she received him in her own house where she had posted witnesses to take cognizance of the interview, the chief of them being her own husband. The tribunal condemned the carrier to pay the husband four pieces of cloth, and it appears that such a proceeding is quite usual among them. In this instance it served to relieve the married couple from a little financial embarrassment. Religious ideas, strictly so-called, have no existence; the summary of all of them being Fetishes and Fetishism everywhere on the whole continent. This assertion is borne out by Schweinfurth (*Au Cœur de l'Afrique*), by Sir S. Baker (*Lake Albert*), and by Speke (*Source of the Nile*).

Cangombe is the capital of Bihe, and the residence of its chief, whose name is Quilemo. It being the fatal custom of Africa not to sell anything to a European, but to present him with all he requires, and to expect in return other presents, he has often refused to accept any and given offence; but as the explorers desired to engage carriers, and a guide to conduct them to the

sources of the Cu-ango, they considered it best to gain the favour of the chief by coming to his presence with gifts, which consisted of the following articles:—two pieces of cotton-cloth, two of striped cloth, two of blue cotton-cloth, one package of handkerchiefs, one soldier's uniform, one umbrella, one donkey, and several flasks of alcoholic beverages. When the *libata* of Cangombe was reached, it was found to be a thousand mètres broad, and one of the largest the explorers had seen in Africa. The great enclosure is surrounded by numerous sycamore trees, the bark of whose knotty trunks was carved with strange figures, and the plantations extend to the banks of the Cu-quaima. Further on herds of cattle were grazing. After the explorers had been admitted into the interior, and passed through a labyrinth between the grass-covered huts, they halted in the shade of a large sycamore, and, sitting down among about two hundred curious spectators, were made to wait for a quarter-of-an-hour till Quilemo made his appearance. Apparently he required time to finish his *toilette*.

At last they were introduced.

Quilemo, an old man, of no agreeable aspect, dressed in a simple long coat, with trousers of a dubious colour, and an enormous hat, was sitting on a stool near the hut which served as his bedroom. The interview began with the presentation of letters which the explorers had brought from the coast, explaining their plan of investigating the sources of the Cu-ango, with a demand for assistance. He expressed satisfaction at the arrival of white men, with whom he would be highly pleased to enter into relations, and who would in his dominions find an abundance of everything. He promised them his powerful aid, as his people were much accustomed to travelling, but assured them that for so long a journey plenty of guns and powder would be required. Lastly, he requested them to present him with a gun, if they had one to spare.

Now the moment for offering the presents had arrived. They were taken one by one and passed to Quilemo, who pretended not to admire them, and in his turn handed them to an attendant, but could scarcely disguise his pleasure. The seriousness of this meeting was broken by a ridiculous incident; when the liquor flasks were presented to Quilemo, a negro fled with one of them, and the cries of "Catch him" resounded everywhere, but he escaped nevertheless.

After this preliminary visit, daily botanical and zoological excursions were made, the results of which the explorers have embodied in the appendix to their work.

As one of the problems of the expedition was to explore the sources of the Cu-anza, an excursion to them was made on the 24th April, and on the 28th the *libata* of a chief called N'gando

was reached, who refused to allow the Cu-anza to be crossed without consulting the Fetishes, for fear some misfortune might befall him. This obstacle having been overcome, and good terms restored, Capello offered some presents to N'gando, in return for which he generously presented him with an ox. Here various specimens of the Flora were collected. Having lost the 29th in consultations, and been obliged to treat two dozen sick persons, he started for the river on the 30th and reached its banks at 10 o'clock.

In this place the Cu-anza flows northwards, and its course is tortuous enough. Its sandy banks are covered with low bushes. Its average depth is 1 to 5 mètres, breadth from 30 to 40 mètres, and velocity 1 to 5 miles. Towards the east the elevated tracts named Cutupo, which constitute the watershed between the Cutito and the Cu-anza, extend. In the undulating plain beyond the banks of the river a herd of white antelopes with black spots and straight horns, were perceived. The natives called them *ma-tchobo*, a kind of shaggy goat living near rivers; the binocular, however, rectified the mistake and showed the *Oryx capensis*.

The sources of the river were found to be in 13°, 3', 57" S. Lat. and 17°, 17', 19" E. Long.

On returning from this excursion to Cangombe the greatest difficulty was to get the chief Quilemo to give orders to his subjects for hiring themselves out as baggage-carriers to the explorers, and his repeated promises to do so resulted in nothing. Accordingly presents were made, not only to the chief, but also to his officials; all were, however, indolent, preferring to negotiate for ever, and it was but a poor consolation to the explorers that their predecessors, Livingstone, Cameron and Stanley, had been similarly victimized by the wily Africans. At last the required number of carriers were hired and the explorers departed.

The expedition started on the 19th May, reaching the Cu-anza in 11°, 54', 50" S. Lat. and 17°, 34', 30" E. Long. on the 1st of June. Having encamped on the banks of the river, scientific operations for approximately determining its course were undertaken; and the next care of the explorers was to provide themselves with victuals in order to march rapidly through the district of

Banks of Cu-anza.—Food required for carriers.—Crossing the Lu-anda near Mongoa, and departure to the sources of the Cu-ango.

Luimbe which was in front. The chief of the adjoining *senzala* was in bad circumstances, as he had to ransom a good many of his relatives who had been captured in the last war with Bihe, so that he could furnish neither provisions on a large scale, nor carriers. The provisions of an African traveller and of his people usually consist of manioc-meal, and flesh, or dried river-fish, which is not very savoury, but is much appreciated when nothing better can

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be had ; and, as every man on the march daily consumes from 2 to 3 litres of meal, and for the support of eighty during six days, twenty carriers are necessary to bear a total weight of 1,500 pounds, a traveller is subject to constant embarrassments and delays.

In the abovenamed latitude the Cu-anza is from 50 to 60 metres broad, and from 4 to 5 deep, having at the utmost a velocity of one mile ; the water is muddy and dark. The course is tortuous enough, but free from cataracts. The land on the left bank is high, and covered with vegetation, but on the right low, and probably inundated during the great rains. This river is navigable almost from its sources to its confluence with the Lu-ando, where the first cataract occurs. The water of the river is augmented by numerous affluents on both sides of it.

After procuring the necessary provisions the expedition again started on the 6th of June, crossed the Bandua hills, passed, after a march of 35 miles, through the district of Luimbe, and reached the boundary of Songo, near the residence of the *soba* Mongoa. During the first days of this march the vegetation was low and moderate in amount, but when the level gradually became higher it was found to be more abundant and vigorous. Numerous fig and sycamore trees, with extensive branches, were encountered, containing innumerable larvæ of the *Ptyalus olivaceus*,* from which water was constantly dripping to such a degree as to make the ground muddy. Troops of monkeys gambolled about and fled terrified at the approach of the travellers. They appeared to be of the *Cynocephalus* species.

This region is populated by numerous *senzalus*, and the inhabitants of Luimbe, who are partly Ganguelas, are at once distinguished by their strange head-dress. Some women looked tolerably well, and contrasted favourably with those of Bihe by their more delicate features.

The Lu-ando was crossed near Mongoa in 11°, 34', 5" S. Lat., 18°, 0', 35" E. Long., not, however, without opposition. The chief had no objection, but his vassals gathered round the party and offered resistance ; fifty loads piled up, and as many muskets ready to fire upon them, soon brought them to reason. After the confusion had terminated, it was found that two packages had been abstracted, and on a demand for their restoration being made, all knowledge of them was totally denied.

* The *Ptyalus olivaceus* is an insect, a kind of artificial rain, especially and the larva in which it is wrapped from the branches of sycamores, continually exudes water, producing

A stratagem was accordingly resorted to, and the next morning the whole expedition appeared in front of the *senzala* before day-break, and, firing about a dozen shots into the air, threatened to burn the *senzala* by setting the surrounding vegetation on fire, whereon the stolen packages were immediately restored and the expedition peaceably departed on the 24th June.

On the morning of the 16th July the two explorers left the *senzala* of Mungo Quiban, the last halting-place near the sources of the Cu-ango, which they reached after a walk of half an hour, the aneroid indicating an altitude of 1,450

Sources of the Cu-ango determined.—Magnificence of the country and misery of the inhabitants.—The district of Cassanje, and departure from it to Duque de Braganza.—Terrible mortality.—The Ambaquistas.—Meeting Dr. Max Buchner.—Arrival in the Fort Duque de Braganza.

metres. An extensive but uneven tract of country constitutes this culminating point a kind of St. Gothard of the African rivers. Through a narrow and tortuous valley the Cu-ango flowed northwards, passing afterwards through plantations of manioc and massambala (*Sorghum*), where numerous girls were seen at work. To

the north-east the Tchirungo mountains, and on their eastern declivity the sources of the Tchicapa, were perceived at a distance of about 25 miles from the point of observation, which was in 11°, 17' S. Lat., and 19°, 11', 30" E. Long. from Greenwich.

Having thus determined the sources of the Cu-ango, the explorers had executed one portion of their instructions, and intended to follow the course of this river northwards till it discharges itself into the Congo-Zaire, which they would then have followed to the sea to terminate their labours. In this attempt they were, however, foiled as we shall see.

In the region where the explorers now happened to be, a variety of springs, the directions of which were approximately determined by the compass, flowed into the Tchicapa, the Cu-ango, the Cassai, the Lu-me, the Lu-ando, which, in their turn, poured their waters into the Congo-Zaire, the Cu-anza and the Zambeze, losing themselves in valleys in which the more vigorous vegetation indicated their tortuous course.

The aspect of the country was magnificent. As far as the sight could reach eastward, the green valley of the high Cassai plateau extended, populous with numerous *senzalas* (hamlets) of the Ma-Quico and the Ma-cosa tribes, indicated by the white spots of manioc flour spread out on mats of *mabu* (*Papyrus ant*). This was just the bee-season when every tree contains a hive, from which honey is collected in the months of July and August. It is remarkable what regard the negroes entertain for the hives of each other, the smallest abstraction of

wax from one of them being looked upon as a serious case of robbery. Meanwhile hydromel flows in torrents, and life is spent in drunkenness and in haggling with traders. Most of the people are poor, their whole dress consisting of a piece of hide tied to the waist by a rope, and, as a distinction, some have wristlets, necklaces of beads, and hair braided with many shells in it; but the women are satisfied with an apron of *mabella* (texture of palm-leaves,) their infants riding on their haunches as we often see also in India. Their huts are seldom thatched or covered with mud, grass being considered sufficient. Both sexes are fond of wearing a little stick transversely in the membrane which separates the nostrils; it looks like a pencil and is parallel to the mouth.

In order better to determine the hydrographical basin of the Cu-ango, the two explorers separated; one caravan taking the western, and the other marching along the eastern, banks of the river at some distance. They again met at Cassanje in $9^{\circ}, 35', 6''$ S. Lat., and $17^{\circ}, 54', 30''$ Long. according to their previous arrangement, that the explorer arriving first at the commencement of September in Cassanje, should wait ten days for his companion, and then go in search of him. They do not state when the western caravan arrived in the said district, or locality, but their first observation in it is recorded in their table of geographical co-ordinates on the 9th September 1878, and the last on the 18th of the same month. The western caravan arrived first, because the eastern was subject to delays on account of the difficulty of obtaining carriers for the baggage; it made, however, its entrance into Cassanje, on the day just named, amid the firing of muskets and joyful songs to celebrate the meeting of the two caravans.

After a stay of several months in Cassanje, where also a fair, annually visited by Portuguese merchants, is held, and after making excursions into the districts to collect specimens of the Flora and Fauna, the explorers receded still more from the river Cu-ango in a western direction, took affectionate leave of their friend Narciso A. Paschoal, who appears to be a Portuguese trader settled in Cassanje, and began, on the 19th February 1879, their march to Duque de Braganza, which is situated in $8^{\circ}, 57', 16''$ S. Lat., and $16^{\circ}, 10'$ E. Long.

After undergoing some hardships, the expedition arrived in the *concelho*, or district of the Malanje, where a halt was made at N'Dala Sumba, the date being marked 4th March in the table of geographical co-ordinates, which are $9^{\circ}, 27', 43''$ S. Lat., and $16^{\circ}, 50', 30''$ E. Long. Before arriving in this place, Portuguese and African graves were frequently met with,

and bore testimony to the precariousness of life in the few establishments where agents from the commercial houses of Malanje take up their abode on the route in order to be the first to meet the caravans. In these regions the mortality is terrible, although the miasmatic influence is not equal throughout the year. During the rainy season the high temperature causes the soil to evaporate more; people perspire abundantly, drink a great deal and absorption is considerable. The constitution being thus disturbed, any sickness becomes more dangerous and intense.

During their sojourn at Cassanje the explorers saw three merchants die, one of whom was a European. A firm of Malanje, with a branch at Cassanje, and established by three partners, had to close business because two of them died. The climate is not at all suitable for Europeans (*as condições de habitabilidade por aqui não satisfazem as exigências européas*).

Close groves occur, which are sometimes full of water, and in the little open patches, tracks of game could be seen, although a chance was seldom got to fire at any, owing to its shyness. The explorers were followed for miles by the small headmen of *senzalas*, often wearing the uniform of a captain, although occupying only the rank of a private in the Portuguese-African forces; they came with their followers, and generally had also a loafer from Ambaca for a secretary. These people offer gifts and pester travellers most persistently to obtain some of their goods.

Some of these advanced denizens of Ambaca, or *Ambaquistas*, as the explorers call them, must have made themselves very obnoxious, because they are dubbed "the damned souls of the interior," which appellation appears, however, to be belied by the portrait of one, who is represented in European garments with a cylindrical hat, and looks rather sedate, and respectable, much resembling the half-caste Portuguese class we see in the Bombay Presidency. This *toilette*, by which, and by his generally pox-marked features he is at once recognized, is the characteristic of the Ambaca trader who is represented to be more cunning than a fox. He is deeply conversant with the habits of the aborigines, enters a *senzala*, creates a position for himself, gains the favour of all, but especially of the headmen, decides questions, maintains his supposed reputation of a scholar by narrating stories about the customs of Europeans to the people, gives them glittering accounts of religious ceremonies, and writes letters for them. On all his marches he carries paper and ink, taking from 2 to 4 yards of cloth as the price for writing a letter to a headman, or a petition to some official.

After passing beyond Melanje, the explorers had just returned

to their encampment on the 19th March from a little excursion, when a European, riding on an ox and accompanied by two or three blacks, suddenly made his appearance in the clearing. They went towards the stranger, who dismounted, and likewise approached them.

"I am Dr. Max Buchner," said he, "a German explorer, sent on a special mission to the regions of Lunda, where I am to encounter the Muata-Janvo. I am in Malanje completing the number of my carriers and waiting for some things which I am to take with me. I knew that you had arrived here, and came with the double intention of making your acquaintance, and of ascending the mountain in front of us; an idea which suggested itself to me as soon as I entered this district." Having invited him to their hut, they breakfasted together and conversed, whereon he departed in the direction in which they had come, but returned at four o'clock in the afternoon with a burning fever, and it became necessary at once to take leave of their sick guest.

Coasting along the mountains to their right, the explorers had on their left, an immense plain, full of brooks, and marched in six days through the borders of the concelho of Malanje to Duque de Braganza, sleeping one day near a small hamlet, another on the bush, and again another on the banks of some river.

On the 28th March the river Lucalla was crossed for the first time, at the habitation of Calandula near the rapids of Faba, ascending from which the great cataract of Lianzundo, a beautiful sheet of 30 vertical metres, was encountered, with beautiful primeval vegetation on the sides, and an orange-grove near the foot. On the 30th the fort of Duque de Braganza was reached, where the Portuguese commandant, Captain A. Silveiro, a kind old man, wearied of, and spent in, the service of his country, received them hospitably. After constructing their encampment in three hours, the explorers entered the *residencia* to which they had been invited for dinner, and found it to be a stockade, with two large verandahs in the interior, one containing the kitchen and the other the dining-room. A dozen negroes with a few pigs, hens, a monkey, a gazelle and a parrot, appeared to be the only tenants of this vast enclosure, besides the captain the master of all. We reserve a description of this concelho or district, for the second visit to it of the explorers, on their home journey.

The expedition now again marched towards the river Cu-ango in order to trace its lower course, after taking a rest of 26 days at Duque de Braganza. Accordingly they started

Banks of the Cu-ango.—A portion of the diary of the 28th May 1879.

again on the 28th April 1879, precisely 534 days after their departure from Benguela. During this portion of the march, the explorers suffered most, not only from the usual fevers, but also from scorbutic eruptions and even scarcity of provisions; they however reached the banks of the Cu-ango at last in 7°, 27', 18" S. Lat., and 18°, 88', 8" E Long. on the 27th May, and found a hamlet in which they obtained plenty of food. The people here are Ma-Jaccas, and some account of them, as well as of other tribes, given in a portion of the diary dated 28th May, is here inserted:—

“The aspect of the Ma-Jaccas is not so distinct as that of the peoples of the south. They are mostly peaceful, at least, those of to-day with whom we entered into relations, but they are very wild, and show extreme diffidence. Their head-dress is original and most varied, the hair being so cut as to give it the appearance of a bonnet without a peak, and a portion hanging down around the back of the head in tresses; some have shaved stripes extending from the nape of the neck to the forehead; in fact their hair is arranged in a variety of shapes which cannot be described in any particular manner. They walk about almost naked, having only *mabellus* (a wrapper of a texture of palm-leaves or of the *Hyphane guineensis*). Their habitations, geometrically well constructed of *marungu* (penisetum?) interlaced with grass present from a distance an interesting perspective. They cultivate the ground but little, they fish, however, on a grand scale, and have no inclination to keep cattle. When speaking to Quizengano about cattle, he informed us of a strange custom, which is, however, rare in the rest of Africa, and is the reason why the Ma-Jaccas cannot produce oxen, and scarcely any sheep, goats, &c.; the chief, namely, has alone the right to possess and to propagate cattle, and any one infringing it invariably loses his head; in case he should endeavour to flee, the Fetishmen would discover him. He said that if we were to pass through the whole country on the left bank of the Cu-ango, we could not obtain sight of even one ox. This strange custom, about which we intend to make inquiries, has no satisfactory explanation. One of their occupations is the chase, and they hunt *pr-lancas*, enormous antelopes (*Hippotragus*?) of which they showed us the antlers, and gazelles, &c., abounding in that region.

“The regions on both sides of the Cu-ango are divided into many districts, with special names, to which the traveller must pay attention in order to avoid confusion. Thus, to the west, the districts of Quiteia-N'bungo, Macume-N'jimbo, Futa, of which we have already spoken, extend; they are inhabited by the Ma-Sossos,

who give them various names, in conformity with the localities. Towards the east the case is the same with Jaccas. The principal chief of the Ma-Jaccas is the Mequianvo, Quianvo or Muene Puto Cassongo. His habitation is in S. Lat. $6^{\circ} 30'$,* near a rivulet called N'ganza, at a distance of about four hours from the Cu-ango. The tales narrated to us about the Quilolos were so different and contradictory, that they would be doubtful even if expurgated. Some asserted that the Quianvo is more powerful than the Muata of Lunda, because he performs the ceremony and installs the successor when the Janvo of Lunda dies. Others denied this, and even asserted that the former is a vassal of the latter. Lastly, the interpreters denied all this, as they were not even acquainted with each other; this assertion we, however, suppose to be inaccurate, because it appears that both presented themselves. The Quianvo is a man of regular and athletic stature. On reception days he wraps himself in a cloth, and wears on his forehead a broad bandage of glass-beads, which is tied behind, and has on its upper rim many red feathers of parrots. He wears armlets and wristlets. He drinks a great deal of *maluro* (the native name for *brandy*) and eats only choice game, such as gazelles, &c. He maintains commercial relations with the coast (Ambriz) by a direct route continued on the river Lojo, by means of the Ma-Sossos, when they go to procure caoutchouc and ivory, and pass through his territory in order to travel as far as Muata Compana and Muene Congo Tubinge. This last chief appears to be important. His habitation is on the bank of the Muluia and is bounded by a great river said to be named Baccari. His estates are on the frontiers of the country of the Ba-Cundis or Ma-Cundis, ferocious cannibals, extending towards the north-east, it was said; and spoken of with terror. Lastly, they have a great river, like the Cu-ango, which flows into the sea; and we being the first white men who had made our appearance in the territories of Muene Puto, they insisted on our paying them a visit. After the Quizengamo had departed, a native of Sosso was introduced to us who gave us some more information. He says that he resides on the road to S. Salvador, knows the Congo-Zaire, N'cusso, and lives near the habitations of Mambo Assamba and of Malungo Ateca. He offered himself to us as a guide. The sources of the Lu-quiche, the last affluent of the Cu-ango on the left bank, are situated in the Zombo mountains. On ascending the river for two days, numerous rocks obstruct its course at a site named Quicungi, and still further up, the mouth of the Cu-ilo Quiasosso occurs. He continued to maintain that, hereabouts, there is no further road along the Cu-ango, but a desert.

* This Latitude is also the extreme limit of the progress of the expedition.

He speaks of the union of the Cu-engo with the Cu-ango, and further on of the Cassai and of other rivers, of great extent, saying that they are enormous, and the country inundated. He told us that two years ago a *mun-delle* (white man) had passed there (to the *massan go*, the point of confluence as he says) in a *oóto-ia-puto* (European boat), who was, no doubt, Stanley. He certifies the existence of a great lake and that of the celebrated dwarfs. He concludes that, to reach the *massango* [confluence of the Congo-Zaire with the Co-ango], a journey of six months is required!

The aborigines invited the explorers to pay a visit to the residence of Quianvo, their chief, but it was on the other side of the river, as already mentioned in our extract from the diary.

The explorers, determined to advance, started again on the 29th May, in the morning, when the yet dark hills began to assume every shade of green, the intervening plains appeared to be lakes, and the distant mountains reflected the azure tints of the sky. Nature smiled; the fields and the sky were adorned, the former with

Much of the expedition back to Duque de Braganza, and description of it—Departure towards Dondo on the river Cu-anza.—Von Mechow, a German explorer encountered.—Dondo — Luanda.—Departure to Portugal.

flowers, and the latter by the rays of the brilliant orb of day. The river Cu-ango having been reached, soundings were taken in a small boat, and the average depth found to be eight feet. It was dotted with small islands of white sand, and on its banks numerous hippopotamuses were observed. The heat was, however, suffo-

cating; and both the fever and the dysentery of the explorers became more obstinate.

After having, nevertheless, again progressed a few stages, an altercation arose with the guide, who insisted that, in order to reach the habitation of the Quianvo, the river must be crossed and the march continued on its right bank, as no track could be found for a long time on the left. From the 5th to the 8th June the expedition still advanced, but in a state of great despondency, at some distance from the river, through a region which contained no inhabitants at all, and on the 9th it reached the extreme limit of its progress.* Returning thence to Duque de Braganza, it reached that place in about 26 days, and the altitude of the sun was taken for the first time at noon on the 30th June 1879.

Duque de Braganza, of which we have already given the geographical position, is situated on a treeless plain, 1,060 mètres above the sea, on the right bank of the Lu-calla river. The seat of the *concelho* is composed of an ample fort of mud-bricks, with loopholes, parapets and fosse in bad condition, surrounded by two

* Mentioned in the preceding foot-note.

dozen habitations at the most ; among which the residence of the commandant, which fronts the east, is the most notable. The fort was built at a time when the Government sent an expedition to the place to check the excesses of the Jinga aborigines, who threatened the district of Ambaca with their raids. The commerce is almost nil, there being no important firms here. Some little efforts at cultivation are, however, being made in this vast agricultural region, as a little tobacco, cotton, and, further to the north, in Danje, some colossal sugar cane, with other produce, has been seen.

The uncultivated condition of this region must be attributed to military preponderance. Duque de Braganza is distant from the centre of the Government and contains 50 or 60 military stations, the commandants of which, when they have no occasion to display their prowess against turbulent natives, are covetous enough to extort tithes (which have been abolished) from the Jinga vassals and to commit other depredations. Thus, for instance, the explorers were told that an officer had despatched a private soldier to levy a certain mullet from a chief ; which being refused, he marched with the detachment under his command and lifted 180 heads of cattle which the said chief possessed. The consequence was that the latter retired to the Jinga country, as many others had done before him, and depopulated the *concelho*. The people are a mixture of Jingas, Ambacas and some Bondas, who intermarry with the soldiers of Luanda, and, constituting the existing families, cultivate small plots of ground by which they live.

After making excursions into the surrounding country, the explorers departed, on the 14th September, for the last time, from Duque de Braganza, hoping to reach Dondo on the 23rd or 24th. They took an affectionate farewell from Captain Silverio who said :—" Go ! go ! Europe is waiting to reward you for your sufferings, and to appreciate your services. Now, the time for taking rest, and profiting by it is at hand. As to me, being old, I shall never return to see you again, and the grave will shortly receive my bones."

As the track by which the explorers marched gradually approached the river Cu-anza and the land was sloping towards it, they saw exotic palm-trees, the *Eriodendron*, with a straight trunk partly covered with the branches of the *Cochlospermum angolensis*, full of yellow flowers, *Erythrinas* with rosy clusters, and other plants. Birds gambolled about, and some of the trees were covered with their suspended nests, forty-seven being counted on one. Among those most worthy of mention was the *Bucorvus caffer*, called wild turkey, but stouter than those seen in Europe, with a long beak, the breast red in front, and a

large tail. It lives in flocks in these groves, perched on high trees, and is on that account difficult to get at, and also because one, posted as a sentry, gives notice of the least danger by the alarm cry *có có*, whereon all fly away.

The uninterrupted movement of the caravans marching both ways along the track followed by the explorers was something marvellous, scarcely an hour elapsing without dozens of negroes passing, laden with caoutchouc, ivory, &c., but oil was the article most frequently transported. A march with negroes affords opportunities of observing their ornamentation, of which they are fond. Their long tresses are adorned with beads, shells and bits of metal and carefully smeared with palm-oil. They use feathers of birds and skins of animals, horns and even human teeth; they pierce not only their ears but the nose for the insertion of little sticks of wood, and disfigure their bodies by incisions with knives, the scars being considered beautiful. Circumcision is performed among the Ban-Galas, often on adults, who also file their upper front-teeth to separate them; their brutal cupping operations with ox-horns and knives are frightful.

Having on the 17th reached Nhangue-ia-Pepe, the explorers encamped near a *senzala* enclosed by a hedge of euphorbias, with the intention of visiting a cataract on the 18th, which was done. The defile through which the Cu-anza precipitates itself opens out here, so that the river is about 30 mètres broad. Falling from a height of 8 to 10 mètres, the river continues its westward course. There being also many rocks and other difficult passages in the river, it is navigable neither above this locality nor from it to Dondo.

On the morning of the 20th September, after the travellers had crossed some little brooks, and passed a few establishments called Cassoqui, they met a numerous crowd of porters, whose peculiar loads, such as sealed boxes, new trunks, &c., made them suspect the presence of a European. They were not mistaken in this surmise, for a few minutes afterwards two white men emerged from a bend in the road, and the one arriving first appeared to be the chief. He was a robust man, with a fair beard, and an ample hat, but, as he did not break the silence, they took him to be one of the little communicative (*pouco expansivo*) sons of Great Britain. His gentlemanly appearance, however, inspired them with confidence and they saluted him with the customary "Bons dias, cavalheiro" whereon he explained in broken Portuguese that he was a German explorer, Von Mechow by name, coming from Luanda, and travelling to Malanje, where he intended to organize a train of attendants, for descending the Cu-ango in a boat of his

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own, and making a complete reconnaissance of it to its junction with the Congo-Zaire. The illustrious traveller had already encountered much trouble in engaging carriers; his cheerfulness, however, had overcome all obstacles and he was determined to try his luck. Some difficulties the explorers had met with in those regions, chiefly with the Jingas who inhabit them, and the fevers as well as the other hardships they had suffered from in the interior, having been explained to Von Mechow, he seemed to make but little account of them, and the two parties separated again.

When the explorers perceived many telegraph poles they knew that European civilization had begun to invade these parts, and they were soon agreeably surprised by the visit of Duarte Silva, an officer of the Portuguese army employed in the Department of Public Works in Africa, who was encamped there, and came to bid them welcome. The news of the arrival of the explorers soon spread in the adjoining camps, and invitations with congratulations poured in from all sides; the grotesque commercial corporation of Dondo (9°, 41' S. Lat., 14°, 31', 54" E. Long. observed on the 30th September) also offered a few days afterwards a banquet to the explorers, during which they were introduced to the gentlemen who composed it.

On the 11th October the explorers embarked in a steamer and arrived on the 13th at Luanda (just 729 days since their departure to the south) where the Governor-General Vasco Guedes do Carvalho e Menezes received them with much kindness, but they lived with all their attendants at the house of St. Manuel Raphael Góejão, the Director of the Public Works of Angola, who had within the short space of three years established an extensive telegraphic line, built an office and a hospital, organized a professional school, and surveyed a line of railway which is to extend 250 kilometres.

The town of Luanda in 8°, 47', 56" S. Lat. and 13°, 7', 30" E. Long. situated on the sea shore, is divided into the high and the low town (*cidade alta e baixa*), but has also many country houses called *musseques*. The population of the interior does not exceed 9,000 inhabitants, 3,500 of these being men, 3,000 women, 1,200 boys and 1,300 girls. The Europeans number at the utmost 1,100, two-thirds of whom are *degradados*, namely, persons exiled for crimes. The *musseques* contain 2,000 inhabitants, and the suburbs with the island 2,350, so that the total population would amount to about 13,350 persons.

The commercial association of Luanda likewise gave a banquet to the explorers, at which H. E. the Governor with the whole body of merchants was present; but, being desirous of recovering their

strength in the more benignant climate of Mossamedes, they sailed for that port, where they spent two months, and then returned Portugal.

From the experience gathered by the expedition, the following conclusions may be drawn:—The life of Africans is simple, primitive and coarse. In the thousand *sencalas*, or hamlets, visited by the explorers, they met with but little variety, and always the same arrangement of constructing, covering, and grouping the habitations. Poles or canes firmly fixed in the soil, interlaced with grass, or plastered with mud, covered with leaves, and arranged in a round or quadrangular form, constitute a hut, which has two or three divisions inside, but is generally the property of one man. The headman nearly always surrounds his domicile with the huts of all the other inhabitants, encircling the whole hamlet with a stockade which can be closed. Around the stockade there are small patches of plantain trees, stramonium, and fields cultivated for daily subsistence. The will of the chief is law, and, as the strong oppress the weak, he is often displaced by another, the people emigrate elsewhere and the hamlet is broken up.

The conjugal advantages are all on the side of the husband, who compels his wife to work for him like a slave. The African has no religion, and his *Petish* is supposed by him to be a kind of talisman, by which noxious influences are counteracted, while "conscience," as Captain R. Burton has well said, "does not exist, the only repentance which a native is able to feel, being grief for having allowed an opportunity to escape to commit a crime. Thieving distinguishes a man, and assassination, above all, if accompanied by atrocious incidents, makes a hero of him." This picture is somewhat overdrawn, and it must be admitted that moral sentiment exists among Africans, although in an embryonic state only. Thus, in every tribe visited by the explorers, a rich murderer could indemnify the relatives of his victim by paying a blood-ransom, and then again continue his wicked career; and they knew of a native who had committed three murders without the least compunction as the most natural thing, only at the instigation of a chief. This is just like a still living Arab Sultan, whose name we need not mention, and who simply orders one of his attendants to shoot a man when he dislikes him.

Without inflicting upon the reader the enumeration of a score of languages spoken by various tribes, we may observe that unwritten idioms are most subject to change, and that a small difference in the pronunciation may give rise to subsequent

modifications, still more enhanced by the migrations of the people and by the transformation of their usages. Thus, for instance, people who have gone from a level country where they had no occasion to shout, into mountains, where they call one to another from different heights, accustom themselves in course of time to draw out certain syllables long in a kind of chanting tone, to be heard at a distance. The result is the same near great rivers, cataracts, &c., where the accents which have been in the middle of words are generally transferred to the final syllables. In course of time it will no doubt appear that some languages, at present considered different, are merely dialects of one, and their number will be considerably reduced.

It is remarkable that the aborigines have very little or no tendency to contradict, and always reply in the affirmative. Accordingly, in order to elicit the truth on any subject, a great deal of circumlocution is required. Their notions of time, distance and quantity are extremely confused, and cause much perplexity to a European. Thus, for instance, the question, "What time will it take us to reach the point where the Cu-ango flows into the Zaire?" was, after a long preamble, answered thus:—"It will be necessary to use up two pairs of sandals!"

In their barter the same confusion prevails. Thus, for instance, an agreement having been arrived at to buy a head of cattle for 54 yards of cloth, the payment in pieces was arranged as follows:—

1 whole of	...	...	18
1 cut of	...	...	15
1 cut of	...	...	16
5 yards more	...	...	5
Total			54

Not understanding this calculation, the savages insisted that it should be arranged in lots of 9 yards (half-pieces) as follows:—

Complete	...	...	9+9
Cut	...	...	9×6+3
Cut	...	...	9+7+2

Total ... 27+22+5=54

The chief articles of food in the regions through which the expedition marched, are the following four:—Manioc (*Jatropha manioc*); Massambala (varieties of *Sorghum*), massango (*Pennisetum typhoides*) which belongs at present to the genus *Pennisetaria*, and Indian-corn (*Zea mais*), which likewise occurs in great abundance. All these articles are made into bread after being reduced to meal; unfortunately, however, the people have no mills, and grind it only by pounding. With the bread the negro

eats whatever of flesh, fish, or vegetables he can get. *Ginguba* (*Arachis hypogea*) is also of great value to them, and entire tribes live on it, especially the Jingas, the Ma-Ilungos, and the Ma-Jaccas, who swallow astonishing quantities of it raw as it is taken from the ground.

Then come indigenous and exotic fruits, too numerous to enumerate, from the *Vitis heracleifolia* to the plantain, as well as the variety of Inhame, tubercles of *Helmia*, potatoes, and little known roots, which are devoured greedily.

Lastly, a stick of sugar-cane, a gourd of soured milk or hydromel, complete the series of aliments in a luscious repast.

Vegetable diet prevails almost exclusively over the whole continent, and a head of cattle is slaughtered only in extraordinary cases, when the native who is generally puerile, gives vent to most stupendous excesses of joy. Able to bear hunger for a long time, he contents himself with four grains of *Arachis*, but when the moment to appease his appetite arrives, he is insatiable. He stuffs himself gradually with several pounds of flour till his abdomen swells, shines, and appears ready to burst. This voracity is most prevalent among old men.

The African manifests a decided propensity for drink. Either the scarcity of European liquors, or the temporary oblivion of the wretched and monotonous life of a negro which their abuse causes, makes him very greedy for drink, and the explorers scarcely knew a case in which, if a chance were given to one of them, he did not drink till he fell down. Some beverages of the country also produce intoxication, but a great deal of them must be swallowed gradually, whereas brandy effects it very speedily, so that the native considered the drinking of it to be as pleasant as that of hydromel is melancholy.

As to the food of the African, it is unsavoury to a palate not habituated to it. He does not recoil even from putrefaction, and European perfume is unpleasant to him, to such a degree, that he would prefer a sweet fruit with a terebinthine flavour to any other which a European would prize. Some fruits with a most disgusting smell, say a variety of the *carica papaya*, are highly appreciated; but inodorous and insipid substances also are devoured with a great gusto.

The vegetable products of Africa embrace, first, the gigantic trees, then a variety of bushes and unknown plants which it would take volumes to describe. We shall in this place enumerate only such as have been utilized in commerce, namely, a variety of palms producing oil, especially the *Elaeis guineensis*. Plants the leaves of which are used in the manufacture of hats and other articles; these are the *Hyphene* and the varieties of the *Borassus*.

The fibres of the *Adasonium*s are at present exported on a great scale for the manufacture of paper and other articles. The *Palma Christi* is used for medicines. *Aloes* occur in great abundance. *Tobacco* grows everywhere, and that of Ambaca has a special aroma. The *sugar-cane* prospers wherever water is abundant. *Cotton* occurs in the whole province of Benguelas ; the *coffee*, which is now appreciated in Portugal, comes from the whole mountainous region, and that from Cazengo is considered the best. *Ginguba* (*arachis hypogea*) which yields much oil, appears to be extremely abundant in the table-land of Ambaca and in the eastern districts. All kinds of *pepper* occur every where. *Rice* was seen under cultivation by the explorers in the district of Bihe, where large tracts of country appeared to be devoted to it. *Indian-corn* was very fertile at Quilengues, Caconda and Duquede Braganza. *Sorghum* was the general food of the people of the interior, but *Massango* (*Penisetum typhoideum*) is invariably the staff of life to the Ganguellas and to the Ma-Quicoes. There is an amazing quantity of *Balsamum Elami*, and along the coast, as well as in the interior, there are notable tracts full of *Copal-gum* trees. *Quoutehoue* is the product of colossal creepers which the aborigines destroy in order to extract their sap. The production of the resin called *Dragons-blood* has already been attempted.

Animal products are :— *Ivory*, represented by the tusks of the elephant, which is always in great request, but the explorers appear never to have met the animal, nor the *Rhinoceros*, the horn of which is also an article of trade. The Ganguellas are the greatest producers of *wax*. Spiders and worms produce *silk*. The Marabout-bird yields *feathers*, sold in various markets. *Skins* of oxen and of wild beasts, such as leopards, panthers, lions, &c.

Lastly, the mineral products are :— *Iron* and *Brimstone*. In all the mountains and in the interior *Copper* is found, and, when cast, marked with the figure of a cross. Signs of coal exist. *Gold* occurs in the Lombije and other districts. *Silver* is found in Jinga (Dallango), Cambambe, &c. *Rock-Salt* is gathered in many places.

The history of Africa is as old as that of Europe, but excepting the northern portions nothing of it is known. All the races who had come into contact with the negro only subjugated him, and slavery having been abolished even by European nations in comparatively recent times only, it is not to be wondered at that the hereditary terror and hatred which the negro entertained towards all men of a lighter complexion than his own has not yet disappeared. His physical and moral position will henceforth be modified by other influences than hitherto ; let us hope that his future will be brighter than his past, and that he will in course of time become

civilized, although it must be admitted, that at least for the present the prospects of colonization are very scanty in tropical, and chimerical in Central Africa, where the life of Europeans is endangered by maladies and other dangers. There are, indeed, salubrious districts in the interior, and delightful large rivers, but when will they become navigable, and when will railroads or even common tracks connect the interior with the litoral and make European colonies possible which have not been attempted even in this country, although it affords much greater facilities of communication with temperate localities in the North-Western Provinces, in the Himalayas, the Nilgiris, &c., than will be possible in Africa even after a large influx of Europeans has taken place.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. III.—LANDED PROPRIETORSHIP, LAND-TENURES, AND THE VESTIGES OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT UNDER NATIVE RULE IN ORISSA.

"England will arrive at a true knowledge of India only by the concrete study of individual localities. A time for safe synthesis and theorising will come in due course, but meanwhile the most solid service which an Indian investigator can render, is a careful collection of facts." --*W. W. Hunter.*

AT a time when measures for the classification of land-tenures, definition of tenant rights and the establishment of a system of Local Self-Government are being warmly discussed by the public and the Press, an account of the past history, and the existing customs and conditions under which land is held, rent is paid, and village communities are managed, in districts not affected by modern ideas on the subject, will not be out of place. If example is better than precept, living instances must be more valuable than abstract theorems. The ground occupied by the subjects above indicated is no doubt a debatable one. Much may be said on either side. Big champions have appeared in the field; experienced Justices and able civilians have flourished lances of pointed logic and bright rhetoric; but, leaving abler controversialists to argue and fight over their respective lines, we would confine our task to a faithful narrative of facts, drawing such inferences as those facts alone may warrant, and making a distinction of rights of which a confusion alone is now made by the infusion of foreign ideas and foreign modes of thought.

We venture to state that in no other part of the Province of Bengal, not even Behar excepted, does the native system of land-tenure exist in its primitive type of integrity to the extent observable in Orissa. The feudal Barons, their compact territories, the patriarchal institutions, the village organization, vestiges of the landed militia, the village servants, and lastly, the most important class of people, the hereditary cultivators of the soil, have each a distinct existence in the Province. The landmarks are clear which the misrule of neither the Pathans, the Moguls nor the Marhattas, nor the levelling policy of the settlement under British officers in 1805, has yet been able wholly to obliterate. Generally speaking, the people of Orissa are ignorant of law. Any idea of change they religiously avoid. Their ignorance has helped them to adhere tenaciously to customs and traditions, to teach them to live in peace with, rather than in defiance of their ancient and cherished institutions. Foreign

domination for years has hardly been able to engraft one foreign word upon either the literature of their indigenous institutions, or the vocabulary of their agricultural terms. The Dalakoran, the Dandási and Paricharaka, are titles yet held by public servants in the Rajwaras, or principalities of native chieftains. They have not yet entirely given way to such foreign terms as the Sardar, the Chowkidar, or the Mandals, of districts where the social, like the religious, fabric, is at present in a state of transition. Religious customs and social institutions are fixtures in Orissa. In every aspect of life, social, mental and external, Orissa is the India of the Hindu Period of history, unaffected in most questions by external influences. The fondness of the Uria for keeping his habits distinct is observable even in his colloquial language. He would scrupulously avoid borrowing a foreign word. The Road-cess is his *Patha-kara*. The Provincial-cess is his *Prodesi-kara*, and the distributory of the canal is expressed by him as the *Karanál*, or the arm of the canal. The Dandasi (club or swordsmen), the Pradhan (village headman), and the Paricha (village supervisor), are, with the Uria, living terms yet. Unlike his more mobile brethren, he shuns reformation, as reformation is perversion according to his estimate. This traditional habit and religious scrupulousness have enabled the Uria to keep himself beyond the influence of foreign regulations. Orissa, therefore, affords the best field for depicting the native institutions and for investigating the rights and interests developed by them.

Nowhere, again, in the province is the native system of land-tenures visible in greater integrity than within the Killájatas, or baronies, whose chieftains were virtually the sovereigns of their estates. "They paid a light tribute and were independent within their jurisdiction." (G. Torneboe's *History of Orissa*). The earliest investigators into the claims of these chieftains and their tenures have held that they were the military nobles of the ancient times, who established their principalities either by right of conquest or from grants from the Paramount Power. Their rights were admitted by the greatest of the Orissa monarchs, Ananga Bhuan (1175 A. D.), who divided the province into two parts, making half over to these chiefs, the officers of State, and to the men of the sacerdotal order, retaining the other half only as his royal domain. The territories of the feudal Lords are situated along the seaboard on the east, while those of the military fief-holders are on the mountainous regions on the western borders of the province. The Crown lands lay in the intermediate Deltaic plain; the former amounted to 19,000 square miles in extent, leaving 5,000 square miles only as the portion of the King. Eight of the principalities were situated on the sea-board, known

as the eight *Tálá-Gárh*s, or lower forts, in contradistinction to the hill forts or the military fiefs on the western borders: the latter served as break-waters to such waves of disturbance as could possibly approach from the savage, mountaineer tribes beyond the frontier. These estates were Killahs Darpan, Sukinda and Modhupur.

The territories of the feudal Lord were Al, with Darabisi Keyanga, Kanika, Chedra, Patya, Hurishpur, Marichpur and Bishanpur. These estates, or Baronies, were held by their respective chieftains subject only to the payment of a small quit-rent and the rendering of certain military services. They were settled in perpetuity by the Board of Commissioners whose proceedings received the confirmation of the Governor-General by Regulation XII. of 1805. The Crown lands called "Mogul Bandi" at the time of the acquisition of the province by the present Government, were settled temporarily with persons in possession whose "land itself was held responsible for the payment of public revenue" (Sec. 2, Reg. XII of 1805.) No distinction was, however, made between the titles of the ancient chiefs, and the landholders or the managers of the Crown lands. In the confusion of rights which ensued from "the Bengal idea of proprietaryship" in land, confirmed or created by the Regulation of the Decennial Settlement, these ancient chiefs, it may be noted here, were styled zemindars, equally with the managers of the "Mogul Bandi," or Crown lands, settled by Raja Todar Mul. Their responsibility, however, of furnishing guards and suppressing robberies within the Crown lands bordering on their respective territories was continued for a time. The tax called "Chaupani" or Mángon "Khândâiti" which they were hitherto allowed to levy for the purpose being abolished and substituted for an "equivalent in money from Government" (Cl. 5, Sec. 4, Act XII of 1805.)

As instances of want of precision on the part of the revenue officers in 1805, we may state that the first three chiefs, *i. e.*, those of Fort Darpan, Sukindi and Modhupur were granted sannads of appointment at the settlement of 1805, and to exchange agreements as ordinary zemindars. The chiefs of Killahs Kujang, Kanika and Al, Harishpur and Marichpur, were permitted to execute *Ikrarnamas*, which were documents of a political character, confirmed by the Governor-General in Council, while the revenue payable by them was styled *Peshkush*, or tribute. The Hurishpur and Bishanpur chiefs were not styled Rajahs in these engagements, although the documents were the same as those executed by the Rajahs of Kujanga and Kanika and Al. The last three were thus, in 1805, placed in a more independent and exalted position than the rest of the chiefs.* The status of these Rajahs has,

however, been gradually levelled down to that of the ordinary zemindars by the course of the action adopted by public officers on the one hand, and the ignorant readiness with which the Rajahs themselves on the other, submitted to the altered process.

We find also no mention of three other states, Domporâ, Kalkala and Chedrá, in Reg. XII of 1805. The *Peshkas* of Chedrá was, however, settled in perpetuity. Kalkala was formerly included in Darpan, but, on the application of the owner, was separated from the parent estate. The Government Revenue of Domporâ was enhanced by the Commissioners at the settlement; but in April 1829, on a representation to the Board of Revenue, the Janna was reduced by the Governor-General in Council.

With the exception of the three estates in the Western borders of the district and two on the seaboard, the remaining six Gárs, or forts, mentioned in Reg. X. of 1805, have gradually passed away from the hands of their original owners, having been sold for family debts, or for default to pay the Government *Peshkash*. Domporâ, Sukinda and Modhupur on the west, and Al and Kanika on the eastern border of the district, still continue in the hands of the descendants of their original chieftains.

Darpan is held by a gentleman, the scion of an adventurous Brahmin, from Cashmere. Some of the most important of the Talgaohs, such as Chedra and Kujang are owned by the zemindars of Bengal, those "great proprietors" who, to quote Dr. Hunter, live in luxuriant villas around Calcutta "and its adjacent districts, with mirror-covered walls and every latest luxury from London or Paris."

The proclamation embodied in Regulation XII. of 1805, regarding the settlement of the Province of Orissa, was, no doubt, based, on the idea that lands in Orissa were held by a body of rent-collectors whose right in the soil was homogeneous. It was certainly the preconceived idea of the Calcutta Council "who were led to believe that the tenure of land in Orissa was the same as found in Bengal, previous to the date of the Decennial Settlement." As a matter of fact, however, the conditions on which land was held or owned in the two provinces could not be more different. Moderate in its demand, wise in its intentions, and ever anxious to promote the welfare of the people interested in agriculture, it cannot but be admitted that the Government of those days overlooked the licenses and the privileges of at least one class of proprietors throughout the country. The possessors of territories, estates, or lands, whether they were the ancient nobles, the feudal lords, the military fief-holders, or the officers or managers of fiscal divisions in the king's dominions, who amidst anarchy and misrule obtained a quasi-proprietary

right in land, had but one name—itsself a foreign one—to hear, *viz.*, the Zemindar. The Regulations mention no other title. The Maharajahs, the Rajahs, Dandapats, Samantas, Revenue administrators and petty grant holders, had but one name to stand by. The Maharajah of Al, the scion of the ancient sovereign, Mukund Deb, was classed in the same rank as the canongoe of Baliá, in the same way as the Rajahs of Doomraon, Bishenpur, Nagore and Chandra Darpee were grouped in the same revenue roll with the Canongoe of Jagpur and the farmers of Patashpur in the sister province. The recognition of their proprietary titles was all the compensation which the ancient nobles and barons of “the land, received equally with those land-managers” whose rights were thrust upon them at the revenue settlement, and stood at the time on a questionable official basis. The same revenue sale-law, the same rules for the management of the property of minors, the classification of landed property, held under very different titles in the same category, and the same procedure for settlement and survey of *Peshkash* and rent-paying estates reduced the one to the lower grade of the others. This was principally effected during periods when the public officers represented both the interests of Government, and the proprietors managed the *Peshkash* estates on the part of the Court of Wards.

A brief account of the history and the institution of one of these Rajwaras, or *Peshkash* estates, is necessary for the purpose of this article. We take up Kujang, as it is not only one of the most extensive and important of the Talgarhs, or lower forts of the Province, but because it has passed through many a vicissitude and different managements, until now, owned by by one of the wealthiest of the zemindars of Bengal. From the hands of its original chieftains it came to be managed by the Court of Wards; it came again to be managed by the Civil Court, until it was brought ultimately to the hammer, when the “Fort” was purchased by the Maharaja Mahatab Chand Bahadur of Burdwan.

The nucleus of the present Raj of Kujang was originally confined to Dobas Garh which was situated in the seaboard of the Cuttack district, within the meshes of streams and the seclusion of the Orissa Sunderbuns close to the mouths of the Mahanadi, near False Point. The chieftains belonged to the military caste of Rajputs who spread their dominions in all directions when pressed by their Mahomedan conquerors in the north-western parts of the country. The authentic history of the Kujang Raj family commences from 1052 V. S., corresponding with 1641 A. D. From that year down to 1811 A. D. the estate

went on extending its limits, until the territories of eight other neighbouring forts were annexed to it, rendering it continuous with its existing boundaries. It comprised an area of 35,847 square miles or 2,29,366 acres. Of this about one hundred thousand acres, or less than one-half the total area, is cultivated, the remainder being occupied by rivers, jungle and prairies.

We have no account to tell how Dobas Gurh was originally formed. The earliest history of the Kujanga Raj commences, as we have above stated, with 1641 A. D., in connexion with the incident which acquired for the family the surname of the "Sundo," or bull. About that year the Rajah of Dobas Gurh owned a Brahmini bull which grew savage and committed great devastations. The brute became a terror to the country, knocked down houses, killed numbers of the people, and destroyed so much of the crops that many of the tenants began to migrate. The Rajah, who was a Hindu Khetri, hearing of the devastation caused by the bull, and that numbers of people were leaving his territory, issued a proclamation that a fourth of the kingdom would be given to any one who would rid the country of the ferocious bull by driving him away without maiming or hurting him in any way. At this time one Mullick Samant, a relation of the Rajah, was staying on a visit at the Gurh and, hearing of the proclamation, offered to accept the terms. He insisted only that the terms be at first engraved on a copper-plate. This being done, on an appointed day, Mullick Samanta fought the bull naked and, unarmed. He is said to have taken the bull by the horns, and after twelve hours' wrestling, to have completely overpowered him, so that on being let off, he ran away, and ran away whenever any man approached him. The bull at last left the country.

Mullick Samanta thus got the one-fourth share of the kingdom, and, from the day of his instalment, was known by the surname of the Sand (bull) which has continued in the family up to this day. On the death of the Rajah of Dobas Gurh, Samanta Sand annexed the whole Raj. He reigned altogether 29 years, or down to the year 1074 V. S. The date of the fight with the bull may thus be put down as 1052 V. S.

His son, Sochendra Sondo Sand, reigned 21 years. His grandson, Damodor Sand, about the year 1113, fought with the chief of the Gokhas, or fisherman of Sen Bench, and added their *Bedi*, or Gurh, to his raj.

The next Raja, Bishumber Sanda, made great friendship with the Raja of Romita Gurh, but when he had found out his strength, fought, and killed him and annexed his Raj (1145.)

His son, Chhater Bhuji, employed himself in successive raids,

killing the Rajah of Kujanga Gurh, which, up to 1165, formed a separate principality, and annexing that estate to his own. He also fought the Rajah of Kaukas Daya Gurh and another, and succeeded in taking the entire estate of the former and four villages of the latter. He died childless.

In 1184 Chhatter Bhuj's brother, Krishna Chunder Sanda, took the Raj, and reigned 21 years. He was a powerful man. •

In 1205, when the next prince, Gangadhar, succeeded to the throne, the State of Kalladwipa on the seaboard was yet in existence. It stood, however, as a sort of Afghanistan between two large kingdoms. The Raja of Kanika on the one hand, and Kujanga on the other, entered into intrigues which ended in the demolition of the Raj, and its division among themselves, making the Pantia Pal river the boundary of their respective dominions. The Chakrakhanda thus became a portion of the Kujanga Raj.

About this time Gangadhar Sanda collected some 122 families of freebooters and settled them in Jaigeers, named *Bluuraree tenures*, of which more hereafter. These men were robbers, pure and simple, who went out to the neighbouring districts and out to sea in their long boats, manned, it is said, by 40 or 50 rowers, in their thievish and piratic excursions, and returned with their boats to be harboured by the Raja in secure forts within the Sunderbuns and creeks of the Mahanadi opposite Paradwipa. He also instituted the *Paikla Jagirs*, in which he settled some 300 families, the members of which formed his militia, who were bound to turn out at a moment's notice and be ready to fight. He also instituted the Mati Paricha (Sardari) jagirs, and the Paik-rao system, and gave them to the chiefs of his soldiers. By the help of these men he fought and killed the chiefs of Tikri, Ramchunderpur, Bidyadharpur and Gajanga, Boro Pát and Bara Bander, and annexed some 84 villages to his Raj. The glory of the Raj now reached its climax.

In 1803 A. D. (1219), his son, Chandra Dhajâ, was installed Raja. During Chandra Dhajâ's time, the Province of Orissa passed under British rule. Ignorant of the prowess of the British lion, and secure in his position among the meshes of the delta of the Mahanadi, the Rajah was detected in carrying on a correspondence with the Rajahs of Khurda and Kanika with a view of entering into a triple alliance against the British authority. When the three principal towns of Orissa (Cuttack, Puri, and Balasore) were reduced, a detachment of the force was accordingly sent to Kujanga under Colonel Harcourt. The Rajah, hearing of the arrival of the force, fled from his fort. His elder brother, Bir Chandra, whom he kept in confinement in the fort of

Paradwipa, was released and seated on the throne. The Rajah was, however, shortly after captured and sent to the fort Barahati at Cuttack. His fort was also dismantled, and his cannon carried away to Cuttack. Among these were found two brass guns, nearly new, which bore the stamp of the Honourable East India and Company, and which must either have been found as a wreck, or captured by the Rajah's men in one of their excursions. (Toynbee's History of Orissa.)

Disturbances, however, continued in the Killa, as in other parts of the province, the Paiks of the estate forming a disturbing element for a period of years. At the insurrection of the Paiks of Khurda and Puri (1817-18) there was a general rising in the southern and eastern parts of the Province. The Paiks of the Kujang and Kanika estates took an important part, secretly encouraged by the Rajahs of those Killahs. To quote Mr. Toynbee, "their action, however, took more of the nature of various bands of dacoits acting independently, than striving to rid themselves of a foreign yoke."

When the Khurda insurrection was quelled and the Rajah of Puri was made a captive, it was time to send a detachment of troops to Killa Kujanga. "On the 13th September 1817, Captain Kennet embarked with a small force on board of country boats at Cuttack, and, taking advantage of a high flood, reached Paradwipa the next day. The place was stockaded and strongly defended. His boats being clumsy and the current very strong, Captain Kennet deemed it advisable to run them ashore, and, disembarking, advanced against the stockade and took it by storm.

"A party under Lieutenant Forester pursued the rebels into the village, killed 15 of them and captured three 3-pounder guns which had been placed to defend the main approach. Two other parties under Captain Kennet and Lieutenant Wood also pursued the enemy in other directions, but, night coming on, most of them escaped into the dense jungles, of which that part of the country mainly consists. The troops bivouacked in the stockade during the night, and the Paiks kept up a desultory and random fire of arrows, which, however, happily did no harm. Next morning Captain Kennet marched with two companies against the village of Noagurh. The enemy kept up a random fire on the troops from their shelter in the jungles, but their march was not seriously impeded. All they found at Noagurh was a quantity of arrows, a few cannon, and three elephants. The Paiks had evacuated the place and fled to Kujanga. Captain Kennet then resolved to proceed to Perau, but as the intermediate country was in possession of the Paiks, it was necessary first to come to an action with them. This he succeeded in doing on the

19th September. Though numbering upwards of 2,000, and though greatly favoured by the nature of the country, they were completely routed. Two elephants and eight horses fell into the hands of the victors, and the Rajah, perceiving it hopeless to continue the struggle further, came in and gave himself up to Captain Kennet on the 2nd October. Partly by means of information given, and partly by stratagem, Narayan Puram Gurn and Bamdeb Pât Josi, the chief leaders and instigators of the outbreak, were also taken prisoners and carried with the Rajah to Cuttack. The latter was imprisoned for one year in the fort, the former were both transported for life. Captain Kennet returned with the majority of the force, leaving Captain Sampson with a few troops to complete the pacification of the country."

When the Marhattas were finally expelled and peace and order restored in Orissa, the British authorities commenced constructing the revenue system which led to, among other things, an investigation into the rights of the landed aristocracy of the Province. It was found at the settlement that the Rajah's revenue amounted to 14,011 Kahan Cowries only, for his extensive domain of 220,000 acres of land. The Cowrees were valued at Rs. 11,503-9-7, of which again Rs. 4,000 was remitted on the understanding that the Rajah would keep the embankments in proper order, and that no remission should ever be given to him in future on account of losses by flood or on any excuse whatever; the balance, therefore, Rs. 7,503-9-7 was fixed as the revenue in perpetuity.

At the settlement the Rajah was called upon to give a list of the villages and boundaries of his estate. In doing this the Rajah, with that timid and suspicious spirit which yet marks the Urya, purposely omitted 60 villages, fearing that he had actually more land than he had stated before the Settlement Officer, *viz.*, 22,000 acres. When the survey of the district was finished, this of course was detected, but it was then too late to claim them. The 60 villages were then farmed out as a separate estate, known as the "Satia Mouza" (60 villages), which is now owned by the heirs of the late Dwatika Nath Tagore of Calcutta, yielding a revenue of Rs. 14,000 per annum. From the year 1810-11 to 1867, six more Rajahs owned Kujanga. During the incumbency of one of these Princes, Rajah Janardan Sanda, in the year 1835, a terrific cyclone blew over the coast, and the sea came over the Killa, driving away thousand of the tenants and their cattle, totally destroying the crops for the year, and causing great damage to the fields when the salt evaporated.

In consequence of this total loss the Rajah had to borrow money to pay up his revenue. This was the commencement of the Kujanga Rajahs' debt, which they were never able to free

themselves from, and which gradually increased to upward of five lakhs of Rupees, until the estate was brought to the hammer.

In June 1867 the estate was attached under orders of the Civil Court, notwithstanding the sympathy of the Rajah's creditors for an ancient and respectable family. Bidyodhar Sanda found himself totally unable to extricate the Raj, and, the question was, how to command a bid, which, after payment to the *Mahajans*, would leave the Rajah a handsome balance. Capital was not forthcoming in all Orissa. None of the landlords, nor any of the princes of the Tributary Estates could be persuaded, or was able, to pay out such a sum as half a million of Rupees in purchasing the estate. The present writer then happened to be at Cuttack, and under his advice the Maharajah of Burdwan was induced to purchase the Raj, which was knocked down at Rupees 5,50,000. A strong feeling of sympathy certainly prevailed throughout Orissa for the fallen Raj. The Uria public talked of the purchase as another instance of usurpation on the part of the Bengali zemindar. Scolds were not wanting to sing of the fallen fate of the Sanda Rajah; but years of litigation failed to revoke the sale, or avert the doom. The Maharajah of Burdwan, on the other hand, took advice of his friends and very generously offered to grant a loan of Rs. 7,500, and to assign such an amount of pension as would enable Bidyadhar Sanda to live in ease in his own fort at Paradwipa. But the Rajah was in bad hands. Greedy people, whose ill-gotten gains had launched him into ruin, still impelled him to further depths. He sued the Maharajah of Burdwan and twice carried up his case to the Privy Council, where he lost his claim on both occasions. At last he instituted a civil suit to alienate the religious endowments from the revenue paying portion of the Raj. The case lay pending in the court of the Sub-judge of Cuttack, the Rajah residing in Cuttack awaiting orders. In 1873 the Sub-judge gave the case against the Kujanga Rajah. As soon as the orders were passed, the Rajah started in his boat for Gurh Paradwipa; but the next morning he was found dead in his cabin at Bosepur lock in the Kendraparah canal. A diamond ring which the Rajah always wore, was missing, and it was said that he died by swallowing it; most probably he exchanged the ring through a servant for a dose of poison, as all hopes of recovering his estates were gone; and he would in a short time have been a wreck and a perfect pauper. The Rajah's fate is to be deplored. But it was merely the lot of a reckless family who never knew the proper use of wealth, and of a comparatively independent position which that wealth conferred. Let us hope better for the large population of this extensive estate, and "let us wish that the wealth and the public spirit of the noblemen into whose

hands it has passed, may invigorate a new life into these parts of Orissa.”—(*Dr. Hunter's Statistical Account of Cuttack*, p. 29).

We have given a detailed account of the Rajas of Fort Kujanga, to enable our readers to understand the process by which they acquired their property, the relation in which they stood to the sovereigns of Orissa and the neighbouring principalities, and the nature of their title, to which reference will be made hereafter.

“A careful study of Indian History leads to the support of the opinion, that India at a period long antecedent to the Mahomedan conquest, was divided into so many small estates, the owners of which possessed the rights and privileges of sovereigns.”* When valour and prowess raised a chief to the paramountcy of a province or the entire country, confederacies were formed. The feudal ones acknowledged the allegiance, and the King over all was turned into an Emperor by probably the same steps as King Frederick of Prussia has in our own days been acknowledged as the Emperor of Germany. India was too large a country to have been held continuously for centuries under a single sovereign, nor was a central Power, a strong national federation, possible, where provinces and districts were widely scattered without easy modes of communication, where Codes and Regulations and a uniform understanding were wanting, and resources which would command an efficient administration were difficult to organise. It was only in spasmodic periods of valour, in the era of a Yudhistira, or a Bikromaditya of Ujjain, that the entire continent could be held under one umbrella. The powerful paw of the British lion, which holds in one mighty grasp the Indian Empire, could not be expected in the olden times. India was thus necessarily split into a number of principalities, and their chiefs, whether they acquired their territories by the force of their own arms or by favour of the Paramount Power for the time, were not certainly the quasi-landholders, or revenue officers, who, by inheritance and recognition amid Mahomedan misrule and Marhatta disorganization, developed themselves into the zemindars of a subsequent period.

The Chiefs or Lords of the land had a compact territory; they enjoyed the privileges of sovereignty; were the judges and magistrates within their own States, and the *plenum dominium* was vested in them. Their estates lay beyond the boundaries of the Crown lands, and to the latter they either rendered services as occasion required, or paid a small tribute as the admission of a subordinate position, which owed allegiance to the Paramount Power for the time. The Rajah, or the hereditary Prince, was then the abstract owner of the land. “They succeeded by inheritance,

* Grant Duff's History of the Marhattas.

exercised power of life and death within their lordships or jurisdiction, maintained forces, proportioned to their means, and paid, if any thing, only a light tribute, as their tenure was that of military service. They were rather, therefore, the Princes than proprietors in the European sense of the term, though of course they would not allow anybody to dispute the latter title with them."—*Sterling's Minute*, para 20).

The officers of the Sovereigns of Orissa, the zemindars of the Mogul Bundi, or the Crown-lands of the Mahomedan period, were very different from the feudatory nobles. The former held the administration of the Royal Domain situated in the intermediate low alluvial tract. It was divided into a number of Bisis (Bisaya) and Khandas divisions, or fiscal circles, names which yet survive in the Parganas, such as Dera-hisi, Baluhisi or Lohakhanda and Kokuakhanda. These were administered by revenue-officers known as Bisorji or Khandaadhipati—the "owner" of the estate or circle, or the collector of revenue, Chowdri, of the Mahomedan period, his chief accountant (Canongoe) and the chief swordsman (Khandal) who amidst the disorder of the Mahomedan and Marhatta rule, subdivided the territories under their charge and gradually developed themselves into landholders, which resulted in their recognition as the proprietors of the soil. The distribution between these two classes of landowners may be thus noted :

The ancient Rajahs were, during the Mahomedan period, described by Ferishta "Rajan, Zaminderan, as powerful and formidable chiefs, commanding troops and possessing forts, like the Barons of the middle ages"—(*Sterling's Minute*, para. 20). "They manifestly stand in a predicament widely different from that of other landholders, and I believe all are agreed in opinion as to the necessity of maintaining them where they exist, and the policy of cautiously avoiding any steps leading to their revival in cases where they may be out of possession, unless some very urgent reason exists for pursuing an opposite course"—(para, 21.)

The collectors of land-revenue, on the other hand, were the officers of Government, appointed to manage portions of the Royal Domain.

1. They had the right of collecting the Government revenue and were answerable for arrears.

2. Their profits arose from the extension of cultivation.

3. They had the privilege of selling or leasing the jungles or waste-lands, "Benger Kunj Juma."

4. They had a share of the sugar duties and certain taxes on trade and artisans, tithes on fisheries, pasture-grounds, gardens, woods, bamboo-jungles, and the plains called "Bena-bat," yielding the grass for thatching.

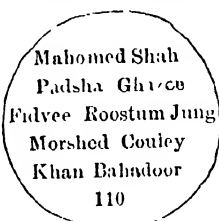
5. They were allowed ground for building "Khana-hori" and cultivated certain portions of their estate free of assessment for their subsistence called Khamar, "Nij Jote," or the Nonkar of the Talookdars.

6. Were jointly responsible with the Khandaits and village watchmen for the Police of the country.

7. They derived advantages from fines, forfeitures and bribes, with taxes on marriages so regularly taken under the Marhattas, as to have become an avowed impost in the revenue accounts.

8. During the Marhatta period the profits of the salt land were enjoyed exclusively by the proprietors.

The nature of the tenures of these collectors and managers of revenue may best be judged from the *sannads* they received from the Government and the engagements they entered into for the performance of their duties. Thus a *sannad* conferring a *Khandaiti*



"It is necessary that he pay his *peshcash* with regularity to Government, never falling a dam or dihem into balance; perform with zeal all duties attaching to his situation; attend the Foujdar of the above Thanahs with his contingent (*jameat*); protect the Pargunnahs of that quarter in such a way, that there remain no traces of theft and robbery; keep the ryots contented and prosperous, and abstain from levying unauthorized *abwabs*."

The engagement of the Khandait was worded as follows:—

"I do by my own full and free consent, declare that I will perform the duties of the above office with honesty and fidelity; I will behave towards the ryots in such a way as to keep them happy and contented; I will exert myself to the utmost in cultivating the Mouzahs attached to the above Killah, and the separate Mouzah specified, and pay the public dues without fail. It shall be my special care to guard against the occurrence of theft, dacoity and highway robbery; should those crimes at any time be committed, I will apprehend the robbers with the property stolen and bring them before the Foujdar. Whenever the Foujdar may have occasion to march against any rebellious and turbulent persons, I will join him with my *jameat* (contingent); I will never myself join with turbulent and rebellious zemindars, nor will I myself be guilty of disobedience. Should I ever violate the above conditions I shall

be considered to have forfeited my zemindari. I will collect none of the prohibited *abwabs*. This is written as a *Muchalka*."

The Danda Patis, Bisorjis, Khand Patis, of the old Hindu period were changed into Talookdars, Canongoes and Chowdhries during the Mahomedan period. These terms came to be used in the Bengal Regulations indiscriminately without, we are afraid, any precise idea of the title they conferred on the holders. In Section 4, Regulation VIII of 1793, it is said :—" These settlements under certain restrictions and exceptions shall be concluded with the actual proprietors of the soil of whatever denominations, whether zemindars, talookdars or chowdhries."

" Nobody," observes Mr. Sterling, " ever supposed that the person called Canongoe by the Moguls was other than a mere servant of Government, though succeeding by regular inheritance to his office." Again :—" There is obviously no more reason to assume that the Chowdhries, or chiefs of Parganas, were the proprietors of the land comprised in them, than that the Canongoes, or Talookdars were, a conclusion from which most minds would probably revolt, however predisposed to see an absolute European landlord in every superior revenue manager connected hereditarily with the soil."

At the settlement of the province in 1805, these feudal nobles and fiscal officers were jumbled together in one class. The only distinction made at the time was the settlement of the permanent revenue on lands of the former, while the assessment of the estates of the latter were fixed for a time only. The latter was termed *Jemá*, the former *Peshkush*, or quit-rent only. Both classes of proprietors, however—the ancient hereditary princes, as well the holders of military fiefs—were equally deprived of their Magisterial and Police power, their licenses and privileges, until by a slow process of the law on the one hand and the imbecility and ignorance of the Rajah's themselves on the other, they have been levelled down to the rank of the ordinary zemindars of the later Mahomedan period.

II.

From the account of the hereditary princes and other landed proprietors in Orissa which we have given above, we turn to the classification of tenures held under various titles in their estates, and which may be noted as follows :—

Class 1.—Rent-paying lands, which are sub-divided into three, 1 *Thani*, 2 *Pahi*, 3 *Chaudna*. The *Thani* ryots are the hereditary occupiers of the soil and the residents of the village in which their tenure is situated, being members of the village corporate body, enjoying all the rights of the villagers. The word is the opposite of the Sanskrit "*Sthaniya*," or local. Besides other

privileges of the village men, such as the free use of the pastures, the Bena Bat or grass plains, and works of irrigation, &c. : the Thani ryots had formerly each an allowance of one mán, 18 ghoot of land within their respective tenures, which they held rent free. In return for this favour the holder was required to furnish labour for the purpose of repairing the village embankments, or do any other kind of work which the prince thought necessary for the general welfare of the tenants. Most of these lands have now been resumed by the Maharaja of Burdwan, and the *Betia* or labour system done away with. At the settlement of 1837 the rights of the resident cultivators were formally recognised by Government and secured to them by Leaf Pottas, or leases. Their strong love of home, however, enabled the landlord to enhance the rent of the holding to a much higher rate than was possible in the case of the Pahi or migrating rayats. Indeed, this system of rack-renting went so far, that the earlier settlement officers observed that the only check to the excesses of the landlord was apprehension of the depopulation of his estates by flight of his tenants. Exactions, however, seldom induced the Thani rayat to migrate; his love of home was strong; his advantages over the Pahi rayat were manifold. He had his home where he and his fathers had lived for ages, on a plot of Chánduá exempted from rent. He had improved the lands which he knew to be his own; his classic groves and cultivated croft, his status and character among the village community in which he lived in heartfelt sympathy. Although he could not transfer his tenure, it had a high credit in the market, which enabled him to borrow largely from the village *Mahajan*.

"As far as fixed hereditary occupancy of the soil independent of the will of another can convey a title, the Thani rayat of Cuttack may be considered in some sort a proprietor of land." His rate of rent was liable to enhancement, but none would think of ejecting him so long as he paid the prescribed rent. His right was thus never precarious. The rate was increased only at the periodical settlement conducted by Government officers, and not at the will of the Zemindar, or under the conditions now prescribed by Section 17 of Act X of 1859. "According to the theory and admitted principles of the country" observes Mr. Stirling, "those rates could never be altered except on the occasion of a new general settlement undertaken by the Government, which would supersede the order of things at the preceding one." It was thus unnecessary for the zemindars to take any action for enhancement or to adopt steps for eviction. Indeed, no thought of evicting a hereditary tenant was ever entertained so long as he paid the enhanced rent assessed at each settlement, and so long as, we may

presume, the idea of an occupancy right and the law of limitation were unknown. In this view of the case it seems doubtful whether Section 17 of Act X, which enables proprietors to claim and obtain enhancement at times other than the general settlement, has been an advance on the old revenue system, or has conferred greater benefit on the Thani tenants.

The Pahi rayat was a non-resident cultivator, native of a village other than that in which his tenure lay. Whatever might be the extent of his tenure or the amount of his rent, he was never admitted into the corporate rights of the village men. He had no right of occupancy and was subject to enhancement of rent. These once tenants-at-will have, however, acquired rights of occupancy since the enactment of Act X of 1859, and, what with the decay of the village corporate body, and the provisions of the existing law, the line of distinction between the two classes of rayats is gradually fading away.

Chândnâ rayats are non-cultivators who hold the land on which their homes stand, and work as labourers and artizans.

Class II.—The history of the next class of tenures, which were service grants or Jagirs, gives an insight into the social state somewhat different from that which the Permanent Settlement has introduced into the provinces of Bengal and Bihar. It will be seen that men of almost every profession and art, from the Brahmins who officiated at religious ceremonies down to the woodcutter and washerman and the torch-bearers, had each an assignment of the village lands which they held generation after generation in lieu of wages for rendering either religious or temporal services to the village community. Wages were almost unknown, and the liberal spirit of the Hindu landed system becomes the more conspicuous when we proceed to notice the various rent-free tenures which were created for social purposes, or for objects tending to the convenience of the community.

(1). On the head of the list of service grants stands the “Mâtiâ Porichâ” (supervisor of earthwork). This supervisor of the village works had an assignment of 10 to 20 acres of land.

His business was to see to the proper execution of the earthworks and embankments, and the collection of the *Betias*, or labourers who were bound to render service. The supervisor still holds about 350 acres of land in the Kujang estate, paying little or no revenue, and they are evidently the men whose services could be utilized under the local Boards now under contemplation.

(2). The next class of tenures are the Shasnam, or grants of Brahmins, who paid only a rupee as quit-rent for one Bati, or 60 acres of land, known as “Bati Tanke,” and two to six cocoanuts per annum. The holders also annually subscribed and presented to the Rajah one gold cord, or sacred *Poita* a year, worth 50 to 60 rupees.

These Shasnamns were the most flourishing villages in the District. They could be distinguished by the tall crests of the cocoanut trees which the Brahmins alone were privileged to plant, and by the neat dwellings within their boundaries amidst surrounding darkness and disorder. These Shasnamns were the defences of Hinduism and the repositories of Sanskrit learning.

(3). The third kind of tenures under this class have two sub-divisions ; they are generally known as the "Máfh," or land exempted from assessment.

The first is enjoyed by Karans, or men of the writer caste who pay only at half the ordinary rate of rent. The other kind of Máfh land is held by the Khasbas, or *Bhadralogs*, gentlemen who enjoy small grants, rent free. Some of these tenures have been lately reserved by the Moharaja, but some villages till hold out and pay no rent whatever.

(4). In the fourth class of Jagir lands are included all grants given to members of the village guild, retainers to the village servants, whose labour was in constant demand among the people. These servants were the *Bhandári*, or village barber, the washerman, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the village confectioner, the oilman, the weaver, the potter, the boatman, and the fisherman, the skinner and the cobbler, the basket-maker and *Paricha* or the supervisor of the guildsmen, and, last of all, the Náik, or village astrologer.

The duties of some of these village servants, it may be interesting to note. The *Bhandari*, as the name signifies, was the general store-keeper on all occasions of public feasts, marriages and funeral ceremonies ; he had charge of the stores of food and served as a barber on all the above occasions. He had also to render service at the Rajah's court for a certain time in the year, and was, moreover, the torch-bearer to benighted travellers. Each village barber keeps himself duly supplied with a store of oil and torch ; it is amusing to note the punctuality with which he comes forward at the call of the watchman whenever an officer of Government or the Rajah is in need of his services, or passes by his village-fields overnight.

Apart from his legitimate duty of washing clothes, the village Dhobi is the woodcutter throughout the province. Whenever a tree is to be felled, or wood prepared for fuel, either for domestic purposes, or for festivals, or at the time of the obsequies of the dead, the washerman's service is in demand. Men of no other caste would profane their hands by holding the axe, any more than by adopting the profession of the skinner or cobbler.

Besides serving the village community each of these men were required to attend the servants of the Rajah or the Government officer when out in camp. For the due performance of these duties a Behera, or Chief, was appointed who enjoyed a separate Jagir

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The earnings of these village heads and village servants may be noted as follows:—

Names of village servants.	Assignment of land in acres.	Services or contribution to the Rajah.
1. Poricha (Poricháráka)	10 to 22	x
2. Priests	10 to 100	x
3. Men of the writer-caste, Karans	Remission of $\frac{1}{4}$ rent	$\frac{1}{4}$ rent.
4. Bhadrlogs, Khasbas	$\frac{1}{4}$ rent	Do
5. Bhandari, or Barber	1 acre	8 annas per acre.
6. Dhoobi, Washerman	Do.	Do.
7. Carpenter	$\frac{1}{4}$ acre land free and piece 5 for dit	
8. Blacksmith	5 acres and food as wages	
9. Confectioner	$\frac{1}{4}$ acre of home-land	
10. Oilman	$\frac{1}{4}$ Free wood from the jungles	
11. Weaver	1 an acre	
12. Potter	$\frac{1}{2}$ to one man and free wood from jungles to make pots	
13. Fisherman	3 ams, $\frac{1}{4}$ piece per day when catching fish	Re. 1 per acre. Supply <i>Handis</i> at all the festivities and to Rajah's servants and officers in camp for which they are paid a pice for each <i>handi</i> . Supplies each village Hár some fish at the three festivals held on the full moon day of Kartick and Pous, and the Sunya or the new Year's day, and also to keep Ferry and supply boats Has to supply all the palm leaves required Has to supply fire-wood at festivals, cravers for ropes, posts and rafters at the annual repairs of the Rajah's kitchenery. Has to supply palm leaves for the records which are still used in lieu of paper, and make mats. Supply baskets at festivals.
14. Gokha	$\frac{1}{4}$ a man	
15. Chámmars	$\frac{1}{2}$ a man, 3 pice per day for food	
16. Basket-maker	$\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ man	
17. Khandát Behara, or Chief of the guildsman	5 man	As none of the above men know how to read and write, a supervisor has to be appointed to write out the necessary orders and keep accounts with them. Prepares the Almanacs, and is the fortune-teller. Records births and deaths and is writer of Horoscopes. Area of the smallest Jagir tenure 1 Bigha.
18. Náik, or astrologer	$\frac{1}{4}$ man	Do.
19. Watchman		largest Jagir 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ Bigha.

Class III.—Besides the service land, we have in the rent class the regular rent-free, or *Lakhiraj* tenure, such as Debotter, Brahmotter, Baishn'ab Britti, Jogi Britti and Pirotter, the extent of which ranges from 1 to 500, and in some cases to 1,000 acres of land. (Already much land has been lost, as cases have been summarily decreed, as rent-free.)

Foremost among these grants are the endowments assigned to the Thakur Baladevjee of Kendrapara, who has two entire villages, with plots of land in a number of others, yielding altogether a rent of 884 rupees per annum. Lands were also given in free gifts to poets, musicians, and even the jugglers who contributed to the amusements of the Rajah; and the question of assessing rent on these lands is now submitted to the decision of our Courts. The grantees have the prescriptive right, while the landlord pleads the abolition of the services for which the grants were originally made.

IV. Apart from land-rent there were three kinds of taxes or cesses imposed,—the fourth and the last source of the Rajah's revenue:—

(a). The first of these was called the *Patki-jummá*, or Trade-tax. Thus the smiths pay a tax of 8 annas on each bellows, really the bamboo handle attached to leather hood, or *Phaniká*.

(b). The second was the *Mahis Nejuri*, a tax of 4 annas for every buffalo in milk that is allowed to graze in the sand hills or jungles on the seashore.

Jhar Kharida, or purchase of bush. Each rayat pays 1 to 2 annas per annum for the right to bring from the jungle any wood for posts for his house, and also lathis and creepers for thatching. Besides making free grants, the Rajah exercised the privilege of conferring titles for meritorious services on every class of his people, extending from his Beborta, or his minister, to the lowest huntsman and coral fisher, or the artful juggler.

From the sketch we have given above, it will be seen that the conditions of the rent-paying and rent-free class of tenants in the estate were widely different. While the superstition or the whims of a mind not fairly balanced left a large class of men in sufficient ease and affluence, the pressure of rent fell heavily in the really useful class of agriculturists, whose business-habits and liabilities prevented them from adopting an idle profession. Indeed, the bounties of the Rajahs were so great, that the present manager of Kujang writes, that the extent of the rent from grants must equal half the cultivated area of the Killa, and the more inquiry is made, the existence of more such tenures crops up to notice. Nor was the general management of the revenue department quite satisfactory. Every

village was made over to a Jamadar under a short lease, or *outbati* system, answering to the thikadars of Bihar, who at every successive settlement, at the end of three years, offered an enhanced amount of rent for the entire village with the evident intention of recouping himself by rack-renting the poor tenants. These farmers were not generally the well working *Prodhans*, or heads of villages, but, as has been truly observed by one of our settlement officers, "a duplicate set of oppressive zemindars." Nevertheless, amidst a good deal of disorder and exercise of arbitrary power on the part of the ruling chieftain, the convenience of the people and the preservation of the village government formed a subject of careful consideration. A spirit of trading industry was almost unknown. There was much apathy in developing the resources of the land to their fullest extent. Locomotion and communication little understood, migration was equally unknown. Village life consisted in satisfying the more urgent necessities of nature, in raising food-grains, building huts, attending religious ceremonies and husbanding the resources of agriculture, so as to live independently of the market. Division of labour, except in the cases where the rules of religion imposed particular occupations on particular castes, was hardly adopted. Tradition and scrupulous superstition drew a hard-and-fast line between men of different trades, or village guilds, and a spirit of mutual dependence was thus generated. Alongside of the agriculturists, it was necessary, therefore, to unite the artizans and the village servants together for the disposal of questions, religious and social, as well for the decision of temporal rights. The retention of an establishment of priests, Panchayats and their executive subordinates, extending down to the barber, the Kela, or digger, the sweeper and the watchman, was found equally urgent. Within these well defined rural limits the agriculturist, with the artizans, tradesmen and village officials, formed a corporate entity which had little interest in the concerns of the outside world. The wants of life were few, and a bazaar, or even a shop in the village for the supply of provisions, was a rare sight. But for the ceremonials and festivals established by an elaborate system of religion, the villagers' life was uneventful. Every thing was home-spun, the people generally lived from hand to mouth, employed in agricultural affairs, or broils connected with questions of caste and religion. The conservation of the village corporation and the social and religious fabric were, however, subjects of the foremost importance. The authority of the village priest, the village Panchayat and the village supervisor was great. The first two were selected village men, the latter was an official

supported by grants of land and the representative of the feudal Chieftain. Innumerable questions were submitted to the council of the village heads for consideration and decision. This jurisdiction was co-extensive with the social and religious grievances of the village community. The execution of works of public utility, the clearing of water courses and channels of irrigation, the construction of grain *Bheris*, or embankments, village sanitation and repairs of the village temple at the expense, and with the aid, of the villagers, were the first items of duty. Next to these, the disposal of social questions arising out of marriage, offences against the rules of castes, ranging from abduction and illicit intercourse of the sexes down to the profane touch of the Paria, and other petty disputes, fell within the jurisdiction of the village council. In short, the members transacted all matters tending to the common welfare or amusement. The provision of funds and their administration for the above purposes were also entrusted to the village heads; nor were funds wanted when the raising of subscriptions under the various names of Mathot, Magan, Chand, rested in the hands of these village elders. Indeed, no marriage took place, no common or petty offence was detected, no party disputes were reconciled, no caste question was decided, which did not add to the village funds. These institutions, indeed, were founded on the suffrage of the entire nation, and therefore retained an element of stability and vitality which survived the commotions of ages. The Hindu sovereigns of Orissa were overturned by the Pathans, the Moguls turned out the Pathans, and were in their turn turned out by the Marhattas. Each set of sovereigns had their own polity and code of regulations, but they no more touched or disturbed these village institutions than the roar of the sea disturbs the sleep of the young eagle in the solitude of its native mountain.

It was left, however, to existing regulations, to Land Settlements, Rent Laws, Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes, to give a rude shock to these ancient and useful institutions. We will trace their decay step by step. The land-revenue settlement of the Cuttack District absolved the zemindars from all police and administrative duties. The smallest exercise of the latter functions came to be watched with jealousy and visited with severe punishment. From the heads of the social fabric the landlords dwindled to mere rent-collectors, and all institutions which flourished and lived with their permission and their authority, commenced, from the earliest days of British rule, to fall and fade away. The public servants and the humblest police assumed the functions of the village heads and threatened the members of the village, *Bhalo Manushya* (good men as the umpires were styled), with penal consequences if detected in the legitimate exercise of their duties sanctioned

by prescription and age. It has been already stated here that the chieftains of the Killajat, termed Rajas at the settlements, in time became ordinary zemindars; their functions were curtailed, and, bereft of all other sources of income, they made it a point to increase their revenue by the gradual absorption of the service lands which supported the village servants. Some, indeed, and the most necessary ones, yet survive, but others have vanished, and large areas of land, which properly belonged to the public, have been turned into private property of the Zemindar here as elsewhere throughout the country. The loss in this respect to the public, and ultimately to Government, has been irreparable. The social and official influence of the village heads and the village Panchayats has disappeared. Their power of raising funds even for the most beneficial purposes has been challenged and gradually set at naught. Zealous public servants, more anxious to foster their own authority than promote the public wealth, treated every attempt at a village organisation with severity and hardship; one had to raise the cant of "illegal cess" to command the sympathy of the local authority, until, however, in the course of time, in some instances, these cesses have been legalised, though raised by a different and more costly agency, yet for precisely the same objects as ever. In the meantime, however, the resumption of the service land, the abolition of the posts of village officials, and the fear of the law, have completely disorganized the village institutions. No doubt, in one way, it has tended to great good. A wise code of laws and administrative vigour have tended to the growth of individual rights. Exactions at the hands of the landlord and village managers have decreased, and the rayat has learnt to know his rights and is learning to hold them firmly. But at the same time the decay of corporate rights has resulted in some evil to the country generally. It can hardly be denied that great care for the individual has led to the decline of a public body whose function, on the whole, was beneficial to the general community. It could be invoked by the poorest rayat at the smallest cost. Under the existing system a more expensive mode of litigation has, however, become the general fashion. We congratulate ourselves annually on the growing elasticity of the public revenues, on the increased proceeds of the Judicial Stamp duty, increased profits of Jail industry, increased receipts of Judicial fines and deposits. But do not these increased receipts represent largely outlay from the funds of the village agriculturists? Do not the receipts under each of the above heads at times absorb the savings of entire classes and entire villages engaged in litigation, or carrying on actions at law? All the penalties which the village heads ever hoped to collect, all the

illegal cesses or *awabs* which the zemindars could ever aspire to extort, all the contributions which the village Panchayats ever dared to levy for village purposes, were lighter in the scale than what the rayat now pays to obtain redress and squanders in litigation. The amounts representing the so-called exactions of the village authorities were within a short space of time redistributed in the locality where the money was realized. The contributions to the stamp revenue and judicial fines, stream into the ocean of the Imperial treasury, whence the opposite current is not quick to flow out to the locality which contributes it. The formation of funds for purely local purposes would thus be a boon to the village men: in Orissa the justice of the British Raj is universally respected; but its elaborate and expensive system of Judicature is unfavorably contrasted with the cheaper indigenous institutions of old. The revival of the latter under a cheap controlling agency would no doubt recommend itself to the circumstances of the poor people of Orissa. The fashion of running to court on the most trifling causes has marred the old spirit of fellow-feeling and sympathy among the village men. The functions of the village heads and supervisors have ceased, and what has been the effect? All works of public utility have suffered; old village roads have been effaced, or overgrown with jungle, village embankments, have been gradually washed down, water channels filled in, tanks have become choked with moss and weeds, area of pasture-land has diminished, cattle have deteriorated, and the state of village sanitation has throughout the province become unsatisfactory. The amusements of the people also, which tended to ward off the gloom of rural life, have suffered from the decay of the influence of the corporate body which formerly provided the necessary funds. The promotion of the local boards and the local unions would thus be a very wholesome, as well as a timely measure. The laws on the subject would merely necessitate institutions which were permitted to fall into decay because their utility was never before properly enquired into. When these proposed Local Boards are formed, it may be found that the local rates which had the sanction of custom and were quietly levied, were not so obnoxious in their objects as has been hitherto supposed. They have, as occasion required, received the sanction of Government in somewhat different garbs, as there was a measure of wisdom in these humble indigenous institutions which went for a long time unrecognised. Nor is this to be wondered at: we live under the auspices of legislators whose measures, as has been shrewdly observed, are never above the necessity of revision. Whether from want of forethought, or leniency towards their own cherished ideas, or reluctance to grasp at vexed questions, or from the mere

love of change, or say desire of progress, their legislative measures change with a speed which keeps pace only with their advanced modes of locomotion. Our Legislative Council is a standing committee of change, whose aim seems to be to thrust on the country new codes with the best of objects, but with little consideration for the old and hallowed institutions which they are made to supersede or the influence which they are likely to exert over native society. Errors have not therefore been unfrequent, or their acknowledgment less so. The amended Acts are numerous and as speedily introduced as the original codes are hurriedly passed. But great minds are open to conviction, and we feel assured that, should our legislators stoop to enquire into the efficacy of the indigenous measures and existing native institutions, they might be satisfied, in many instances, that practical wisdom is not the monopoly of any particular nation. It would be well, therefore, if the efficacy of existing institutions were properly weighed before they are condemned one day as sources of irremediable evil, to be hailed back at another time in a new garb, as measures of great and original reform.

Much anxiety, indeed, has ever been felt to improve the condition of the rayat, to protect him from exactions and to confer on him fresh privileges; but what has been the effect of the rent-law, of the occupancy and tenancy rights, as compared with the old revenue system of the country? While the law has conferred new rights on the tenants, his sense of security in the tenure has suffered. Very unfortunately, mutual good understanding between the landlord and the tenant in the country has declined. Rayats, indeed, have partly prospered everywhere in the country, but this is owing to those influences under which the country is generally advancing, rather than to the definition of tenant-right, or the grant of privileges by the rent-law alone. The landlords have exercised more actively of late the rights to evict and to enhance rent, than was the case when the right of occupancy rested on custom and not legislative enactment. They have also grown more exacting and uncompromising in realising rent now than when there was no law of limitation of three years. The relief, indeed, given by Act X of 1859, has been considered so small and unsatisfactory, that it is now intended to enact laws aiming at the opposite extreme, and tending virtually to transfer rights hitherto vested in the proprietors. It is certainly the duty of the ruling power to enact rules, to encourage rayats to industry, and secure them in the fruits of that industry. But the great question to be solved is, should these objects be attained by the total extinction of the existing rights of any other class of men, or should these be so qualified as not to

over-step the bounds which divide the use of privileges from their abuse. Amidst discord and disputes regarding the rate of rent and its collection, the one idea in former times, equally entertained by landlords and tenants, was that their best interests in the long run were identical. Has the tendency of the rent laws been to strengthen that belief or to create a spirit of jealousy, if not of opposition, between the two classes? More tenancy rights have immersed the people in more debt. They have benefited the money-lender more than those for whom they were intended, for privileges can benefit those only who know how to use them.

The general indebtedness of the rayats has been urged as a reason for extending to him greater protection. The reform of the rent-law of the country has thus been suggested as a way of rendering the rayat independent of the landlord. But how did this indebtedness arise? For the purposes of agricultural operations the rayat wants money as much as the showers of heaven. Generally speaking, his holding is large enough for his support only in ordinary years. Little is left to him for laying by a provision for a rainy day. In this country, where a good outturn of crops depends on the chances of the seasons, where the payment of rent or the provision of food is facilitated, or not, as the clouds may melt at a particular season or not, when help has to be taken of a capitalist on marriage as well as funeral occasions, on the occurrence of a cyclone, or a destructive fire, during a season of disease or cattle-plague, or one of extraordinary drought or extraordinary flood, sympathy and co-operation between the landlord, as the local capitalist, and the rayat, is a matter of the greatest importance. So long as the last grains of such a good feeling remained, enhancement of rent and eviction were never thought of, but as the exceptional punishment for insubordination or systematic refusal of payment of rent. The Zemindar thought it as much his duty to advance seed-grain, supply funds for purchase of agricultural implements and cattle, and take all other steps for the conduct of agricultural operations and to prove the guardian of the people, as to support his own family. The rayat had, indeed, to pay back the advances he took with interest, and with large interest, to the Zemindar. But the convenience of the tenant and the prosperity of the season were consulted. There was no hurry, no fear of lapses, or of the law of limitation to hasten an adjustment. Nor were there any court fees, lawyers' fees, registration fees, or commissions to pay. There was, indeed, a chronic burden to bear. Has it been made light, however, by the recent laws, or have the latter merely conjured up a duplicate set of oppressions? "We have found," said the Famine Commission, "no reason to believe that

the agricultural population of India have at any known period of History been generally free from debt." "The recourse of zemindars and cultivators to money lenders has the effect of diverting much of the rental fund from the proprietors to usurers, and Government has thereby lost a serious amount of revenue." It was then a convenient and safe system of banking when the landlord and the *Mahajan* happened to be same individual. The rate of interest on arrears of rent was smaller than that charged by the money-lender, and was therefore no less advantageous to the rayat than to the Zemindar. So far as Orissa is concerned, great changes have come over those relations. On the 23rd May 1817, in a letter to the Board of Revenue, Mr. Collector Trowser wrote, "The country has decayed ever since the Marhatta conquest; under the Moguls it was happy and prosperous. Our first assessment exceeded even the collection of the Marhattas by a lakh of rupees, to say nothing of other taxation and *Salâmi*, &c., to the Amlâ at each new settlement" At the same time the revenue sale law was put into force with great rigidity, so that between the years 1805 and 1818-9 no less than 1,129 estates, bearing a jama of Rupees 965,958, were sold for arrears. Many of those estates were sold more than once in the same year. One was even sold seven times in four years, one six times in the same period, another three times in three years, and a fourth four times in five years. Another officer wrote: "Public sales, instead of being the last resort, had in Orissa been the first and only one. The practice of issuing written demands for arrears of revenue fell into disuse at a very early period." "These measures ruined the old Uriya zemindars and transferred their lands to absentee Bengali zemindars and the Amlâ of the Courts." The zemindar, as the local capitalist, this became extinct, and the rayat was thrown on the mercy of a new class of village *Mahajans*, or money-lenders, whose practice has proved "fatal to all successful agricultural enterprise" throughout the country. In another important respect also the Government itself receded from the people. It has ceased to make advances which "had formed an integral part of the Imperial Revenue system." The zemindars have, in their turn, followed the example of Government. Tucavi advances have fallen into disuse. The *Mahajan's* rate of interest has thus disproportionately increased, and no wonder that the borrowing portion of the people of Orissa have taken rank among those "individuals or classes who have fallen into deeper embarrassment than was common under the native dynasties which preceded it." On what measures, then, does the emancipation of the rayats depend? Not merely on tenancy titles, occupancy rights, or transferability of holdings, but on conditions entirely different: ability to make head against the reverses of the seasons and freedom from indebtedness.

Ignorant and poor, the rayat cannot also be expected at present to make head against intelligence and wealth. Under present circumstances no fighting will avail. You may enfranchise the rayat from the hold of the Zemindar, but how do you mean to save him from the casualties of the seasons or from the clutches of the *Mahajan*? The prosperity of the people must depend more on the strength and well-regulated conduct of its individual members than the privileges conferred on it by the Legislature. We must hesitate to create rights and grant privileges which cannot be used to advantage, but would merely tend to open sores and create jealousy between classes among which a spirit of sympathy is most desirable. The condition of the people can not be suddenly and adequately raised by mere legislative acts or administrative vigilance. We should at the same time attempt to uplift the load of ignorance which the mass of the Uriya people have been for years sadly groaning under. In no other part of the country are the wants of education more urgent. Dispel the darkness of their provoking ignorance, teach them a knowledge of their own rights, and the Uriyas will not only use their rights for their own good, but rebuild the revenue system of the country on the broad basis of knowledge. The Government, indeed, is so sensible of the weakness of the tenant, that the provisions of the proposed rent bill appear to have been drafted more with a view to its introduction among idiots, minors and wards than among agents that are free—(*Vide* sections 59 and 60, *et seq.* of the Tenancy Bill.)

In the relation of landlord and tenant scarcely any friction is observed in Orissa; the existing rent-law gives ample protection to all classes. The province has fortunately very minute records of tenures and tenant-rights prepared at each successive settlement of the land-revenue after elaborate investigation. Every field has its number and class in the village field book. The village accountant, or Patwari's papers of classification and collection, are filed at the district offices year after year. It has also a local agency in the Purgannah,—Canongoes, who are daily engaged in taking notes of agricultural prospects and operations and embodying agricultural statistics which materially help the revenue officers in the disposal of questions regarding land and rent.

The right of occupancy and the right of enhancement have not placed the tenantry on a precarious footing. The difficulty experienced in finding the local measure of land or the local rate of rent, in classifying the different descriptions of land and in deciding what would be a fair and equitable rate in claims of enhancement, which have exercised the minds of the judges in Bengal, and is said to have established the necessity for amending the rent-law, is not felt in Orissa. These difficulties can be experienced in

Districts only where a most important duty was originally neglected or delegated to the proprietors, *viz.*, the record of the rights of the tenants. They require, however, that the existing rights should be ascertained and recorded, rather than new rights created, or existing ones extinguished, or indigenous ideas regarding property and existing customs ignored. A reform in the usury law, the establishment of agricultural banks, or loan offices, the restoration of the local system of Tuncavi advances for agricultural operations, are probably more urgently wanted than amendments in the existing rent-law. A tenancy bill to disturb existing relations, without adequate provisions to extricate the rayat from chronic indebtedness, would not alone, under present circumstances, secure freedom to the rayat.

C. S. B.

ART. IV.—TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS.

I.

Solidarity and Continuity.

M. COMTE rests his system of universal morality virtually upon certain simple ideas conveyed by the two words *Solidarity* and *Continuity*. The one represents that feature of man's social life which puts together the varied experiences of different men in any given unit of time as a net result of many forces, *i. e.*, in the form of a general consensus, or like many rays of light brought into a common focus. *Continuity* suggests what follows, when this consensus is viewed as carried forward in the course of time. It serves, as it were, to project the successive pictures of each unit of time, upon the same spot in the mental background, and yields at last something like a polyorama, representing what is especially the *HUMAN* at once in the past, the present, and the future. There is between man and man a divergence as well as a convergence, but the aggregate result thereof, whether by addition or by subtraction, is fairly proved to be definite, by facts showing the historic truth of men's collective existence. And the sum of a series of such aggregates, each confined to a certain space of time, though far from being wholly true of every one, must still be generally true of all of the elements which may have been brought together.

The doctrine, broad as I believe it to be, may thus be presented as a simple truism. That which is common to a given number of phenomena, is true of them all. That which is true of all, is true of each. Exceptions certainly there must be ; but for purposes of generalisation, as well as for regulating our activity, they may be put aside. It is only necessary to understand the process by which the aggregate is made up, and the totality will present a distinct image.

Modern Science takes facts as they are ; assumes a kind of fixity in phenomena, and as apart from the observation thereof, and, taking the phenomena variously, as observed at different points and successive moments. Science, strikes a sum-total, and in doing so fairly eliminates what may have been peculiar to each observer. Man now distrusts himself more than he does the outer world, and we therefore compare notes as between one observer and another. And thus, where the notes coincide, a safe basis is obtained for our mutual guidance in spite of the impossibility of knowing the *absolute*.

What is acceptable to one is tested by the experience of another. And the same process is also applied to successive experiences of each and of all. And the result obtained is what we call man's wisdom: an aggregate not of absolute truths, but of opinions accepted by the *soi-disant* ALL.

Each man's observation, however, to be made broad enough, must be extended as far as human thought can reach. And, in fact, our memory generally helps us to project upon the same background, the successive experiences of our own lives. The skill of the operator, indeed, is taxed not a little, in arranging the relative proportions of the various images brought together in this mental polyorama; but the collocation assumedly effected by the same agent is a phenomenon no less substantial than each of the distinct experiences put together; for the integral character of a whole life's experience is not now called in question, the man's mental identity being inferred from his physical individualism. Such, then, are our ultimate units.

But between one individual and another the separation is wider and oftener perceived to be such. Hence that which pleases one man in the rose, needs to be carefully compared with the source of another man's gratification in or about the same object. Here, as it were, the screen on which the image has to be projected is itself uncertain, and the size and proportion of each focus, as well as the portion of the screen occupied by each and all of them are all sources of the utmost perplexity.

However, the gulf between one individual and another has been bridged, and the units are massed even from day to day, and all by that most wonderful of all our inventions—LANGUAGE. Moreover, commercial intercourse promises to furnish means to bring into a still more complex focus all the languages of the world. Imperfect as this contrivance (a common language) may be, there can be no question that it imparts a powerful vitality to the solidarity of men; but this growing solidarity arising from different languages interpreting one into another, collects the contiguity of each nation into a common whole of which the vastness is enough to gratify all the normal requirements of human contemplation and meditation.

After all, then, solidarity and continuity respectively represent only the language and the history of mankind. Language, when regarded not as the instrument but as the product of human utterance, masses into an audible and visible whole those super-spiritual entities, the thoughts and feelings of the human being; history collects these varied masses for sociology to systematize into science, and sociology leads quietly on to the science of morals,

2. But let us for one moment try to forget the gigantic power that we now wield with these two grand heritages from the past. Let us forget how man can thus penetrate into the mind of man, and how individual men may be leavened together into one uniform mass. Let us forget, too, that the records of one age furnish, with those of another, the materials for an induction which must effectively resist all scepticism in any questions of prime necessity to man. And let us then try to discover a means which, however feeble, when compared with our present possessions, would somehow gratify our craving for the ethical products derivable from language and history. The idea is obviously bewildering. But let us ply our imagination a little even in dull prose.

Our first requisite is, that the soul of one being should penetrate into the body of another, and that this should be done otherwise than by language. Now, if John may not by language pass into the soul of James so as to move James' body, as if it were his own, we shall suppose him by some supernatural agency to effect the entrance, and thus attain the wished-for end. Thus we will assume, James comes to think and feel as John had done, except in so far as the body out of which John had passed happened to yield experiences peculiar to himself. If, originally, James was white and John black, the transformation would require James' soul to get accustomed to the black complexion of John as his own. Such special experiences, however, of John or James may be easily left out of account as foreign to either. And the result of the process adverted to, will be a mass of experience common to John and James both.

Our next requisite is, that the experiences of one age should be added to those of another. History is the modern means to attain this end. An allied instrument may also be traced in the doctrine of heredity. For just as a nation's character is depicted by the aggregate of what is traced in its history, from year to year, so the life of each individual is understood to contain in itself the habits of all his ancestors. But we have given up history, as if it were unavailable, and heredity is, after all, too feeble to gather the nice and varied experiences of the past to the extent we require. So we shall suppose that the same human soul has the power to occupy one body after another, as they are successively cast out in the course of natural death. The experiences of successive existences would thus live, though the material receptacles which held them from time to time had been reduced into atoms, and the memory of those experiences might revive at some stage or other, though it had undergone an indefinite period of hybernation.

To sum up: let us suppose that the soul can pass from one body into another, and collect, of and in itself, the varied experiences, such

as would be yielded by different people and in successive generations, and we shall conceive of an instrument which would serve us well enough instead of language and history both. The acquisition of such an instrument may be as hopeless as the philosopher's-stone or elixir vitæ. But the conception is clear and precise enough. And there is no doubt that the ends of solidarity and continuity could be attained, and by a royal road too, with the help of the hypothetical process above described. Nothing could so enable us to wind ourselves into one another and produce a solid consensus, nothing so to carry us from age to age in order to yield a ripe philosophy as this supposed supernal means, binding as it were, all sorts of beings, and removing the cold obstruction of death itself. I say, all sorts of beings, for the process would apply equally to man, beast, or even inert matter, being independent of all such human instruments of acquiring wisdom as speech, language or history.

3. Where is the good of such a ludicrously impossible conception? The good of it is, that such a conception is a historical fact, and, therefore, useful for the very ends of man's solidarity and continuity.

The Hindus have a department of literature known by the name of "Yog Philosophy," which might be better called Yog mysteries, and adepts in the art were believed to be able to leave their own bodies and pass into those of others. "When a Yogi knows the process . . . He can enter . . . into the body of another, whether it be dead or alive . . . And the Yogi who has entered another body uses it as his own." *

These mysteries have fallen into decadence for reasons which may be diversely described by friends and opponents as natural growth of wisdom, or as fading popularity and extinction of teachers. But, whether as part of them, or as an independent product of the human mind, another doctrine exists, and is implicitly accepted by a considerable portion of the human population. I allude to the doctrine of transmigration.

4. Transmigration is generally regarded by several Asiatic peoples, as distinct from the processes of Yog mysteries. In the one case, the soul passes from one body to another after death, the common fate of men, and in the other, the effects of death can be counteracted at the will of the Yogi. But for collecting into one mass the experiences of different beings and times, both the conceptions are pretty much on a par.

This doctrine viewed barely as a subjective construction has, however, had a remarkable influence in the education of the

* Dr. R. Mitra's *Patanjali*, p. 152.

Indian mind. It comports at once with the Buddhist doctrine that it is nothingness alone which exists, and with the pantheism of the Hindu and the Buddhists, that the grandest and the sole existent being is the ALL. It comports with a belief in the dogma that cause is অনায়াসে নিমিত্তাশ্রয়িতা *i.e.*, uniform antecedence (effectuation in any other manner being absent), as well as with the belief in the existence of innumerable orders of imaginary beings possessing extra-human powers, such as the Devas, the Gandharvas, Yak'has, Kinnaras, and even the speaking monkeys, and so forth. It is acceptable as much to the fatalist or the evolutionist, as to the man who believes in astrology and refuses to assume the personal identity of the individual. It is consistent at once with the convictions of the self-immolating *Sati* (Hindu widow) and Gymnosophist, the mysterious Yogi, the Tantric debauchee and the ecstatic Vishnuvite. It is vigorously endorsed by the apparently inert mind of the Hindu woman and proletariat; and it would not be rejected by the transcendental and accomplished professor who claims to look upon the religion of Humanity as a chapter of Tantric Philosophy.

5. I have endeavoured only to draw attention to this doctrine, but I do not venture to substantiate that, between the elements which make up the doctrine of solidarity and continuity on the one hand, and those which have gone to build up this Hindu conception, on the other, the wide discrepancy has to be accounted for by what in Comte's system is set forth under the hierarchy of the sciences. But what shall we say of the primitive people of India who also sought to establish their ethics apart from revelation and theology upon a merely subjective construction, and one which could at one time serve so well as a substitute for both cosmology and sociology,—a people with whom such an elaborate and well considered fiction as the theory of transmigration could grow to be regarded as objective truth?

II. Transmigration in relation to development of Bodhi-knowledge.

1. "The merits of a Tathagata (Buddhist saint) are that he is perfectly enlightened, learned, well conducted, well bestowed, that he is perfectly conversant with the ways of men, he is without a superior, he has a complete control over the senses." This we learn from the valuable book recently brought out by Dr. R. Mitra, entitled *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* (see p. 208.) Elsewhere we read as follows:—"When the Lord was on the Grīdhra-kuta hill, Maudgalyayana, son of Sari, vanished like a fire when the fuel had been burnt out. The Bhikshus (mendicant Buddhists) asked the Lord if this was his final deliverance, or

the lot which his forefathers had been destined to. The Lord said, Maudgalyayana had obtained final deliverance, and not the lot of his forefathers, and then recounted the former history of the departed hermits." Then follows a story of one Chandraprabha, a king of a city called Bhadrasila, concluding in the following words :—

The Lord said :—"The town which formerly was Bhadrasila is now called Takshasila. He who was king Chandraprabha is now myself, the two ministers (of the king in the story) are now Sariputra and Maudgalyayana, and Rudraksha, the beggar Brahman, is Devadatta" (p. 310)

The founder of Buddhism was, indeed, believed to have gone through many existences. And from the case of Maudgalyayana we learn that the education thus received would point only to the final deliverance called *Nirvan*. There were also innumerable model-men (Tathagatas), each without a superior, and one essentially like another in the possession of Bodhi knowledge. Thus each saint, however imaginary, was a model-man and the outcome of the education afforded by many existences. And, considering that each of these fictitious existences must have been drawn from at least supposed types in contemporary life, we infer that the Buddhist Saint, or Tathagata, represented in one sense, the solidarity of all his constituent types; and that the long range of time given to his growth, coupled with the notions of permanence characteristic of primitive history, not unnaturally precluded all thought of a further development in the future. There was a continuity distinctly recognised, in this education covering several existences. But the continuity was one at last determined by the perfection of the Saint. On the other hand, a succession of the Tathagatas was accepted to keep up the continuity of the perfect founder, though necessarily without any further development in his wisdom or character.

2. We are told also that when the Lord suffered himself, as Chandraprabha, to be decapitated at the instance of his great enemy Devadatta, he was anxious not only for Bodhi knowledge—"acquiring which, one may control the uncontrollable, restrain the unrestrainable, redeem the condemned, and quench the unquenchable"—but he desired his remains to be preserved in a *chaitya* (tomb, monument, &c.) In other words, we see that the Buddhist conception of the Tathagata had not only formed a perfect model from mundane elements, but had coupled with it an element of a quite incongruous kind, *viz.*, a solicitude entirely inconsistent with the character of Nirvana, or perfection, such as would be acceptable to the Indian mind, whether Buddhist or Hindu. One who was conceived to be constantly looking forward to final deliverance, and with whom the highest ambition was a state of

perfect unconcern with the affairs of the world, even such a one, we see, was giving specific directions about the keeping of his relics after death; even such one was solicitous about a *chaitya*, of which the rational significance could only be to furnish a solemn remembrancer of his holy teachings, certainly a most valuable instrument of man's moral education and activity.

That the doctrine of transmigration was actually resorted to as an instrument of education, would also appear from the story of a whale which, more sensible than that of Jonah, not only vomited out certain Buddhist merchants in the situation of the Hebrew Prophet, but, struck by their miraculous deliverance, thenceforth "ceased to be a carnivorous animal, and died for want of proper food." And then the whale's putrid carcass was thrown on the sea-shore "where the bones formed a hill of no small height." Meantime the penitent whale was born again, and in the family of a Brahman. But even as a babe, and despite his subsequent conversion to Buddhism, he could not get quite rid of the taint of heredity. His whale-like voracity survived his cetacean existence, and rendered him, both as child and man, a veritable pest of society. Eventually the Lord came to his help. And here at last we find the rationale of what would otherwise have been a mere nursery tale. The Lord "took him to the above mentioned bone-hill and reminded him of his doings in his previous existence which exerted in his mind a feeling of resignation. He obtained Arhatship from Lord Buddha."—(*Do.* pp. 71-72.)

3. I cannot venture to assert that the genesis of the Tantric or Sivite symbols, is to be found in the logic of the Buddhist *chaitya*. But certain it is, that the originator of the conception of Bodhi-knowledge, attempted to break through the sanctity and continuity of the Vedic word (Veda is knowledge, and knowledge embalmed in sacred and unbeginning words), and that this primitive revolution, whilst violating the ties of caste, naturally led to the formation of the Buddhist congregation called ऋ ष (Sangha). These two first principles, *Buddha* (knowledge) and *Sangha*, seem, however, to have early proved insufficient. And the exigencies of propagating Bodhi-knowledge, in and around the new organization, must have suggested the third principle *Dharma* (religious feelings,) which then went to form the Buddhist Triad. Mere knowledge is after all a feeble influence as compared with feelings, whether good or bad. So that feeling could not fail to be early recognised as an indispensable instrument with a view to perfect the mind and gratify the heart. And then, not only did these abstract conceptions crystallize into definite images, like those of the abstract Triad, knowledge, society and religious feeling, but material representations of such images, as well symbols of a more pronounced character, to help meditation, were also called

into requisition. These symbols, often mistaken for fetiches or images of divine beings, are after all a valuable help to the mind. They ought at least to recall by their very sight, long trains of definite ideas, which would be the natural antecedents of appropriate feelings and consequent activity. In any case, subjectivism of this kind should least deserve to be scorned or condemned as objective, useless, and stupid, or as vicious idolatry, in an age remarkable alike for its doctrines of hero-worship and æstheticism and for its scientific views of historic development.

4. We have thus for our data certain felt wants of quite a definite character. First of all, the congregation of Buddhists, whose size and condition would naturally suggest the inquiry, how knowledge of an admittedly most abstract kind was to be instilled into the minds of people taken indiscriminately from all castes of the primitive Hindu Society. Then there was the subjective construction termed *Dharma* (religious feeling). In other words, a spiritual condition of the human being, was invoked, evidently with a view to supplement the comparatively barren dogmas about Buddha and Sangha. Finally we know that mnemonic instruments—to wit the Triad,—were laid hold of both as ideas and images in furtherance of the same propagandist movement. But an element suggesting growth was still sadly wanted; and this must have been felt all the more keenly when the opposing orthodox school of Brahmins naturally plumed themselves upon having taken generations to cultivate their Vedic knowledge. Hence, I suppose, it would not be surprising if the then widely prevalent doctrine of transmigration had been utilized to suggest a way of perfecting Bodhi—i. e., the new substitute for Vedic—knowledge. And evidence has been adduced to show how the perfection of the Tathagata was made a matter of gradual evolution upon the basis of the prevailing notions of cosmology.

5. The extract given in the foot-note, from the Bhagabad Gita, will probably also yield a link between the Buddhist and Hindu conceptions of the perfect man, the Tathagata, and the Avatar*. The Vishnuvite conception has, however, a more theological character, and evinces no traces of the gradual development

* The Holy One spoke : ' I delivered this imperishable doctrine of Yoga to Vivaswat. Vivaswat declared it to Manu, Manu told it to Ikshwaku. Thus the Rajarshis learnt it, handed down from one to another. During a considerable period of time this doctrine has been lost in the world, O harasser of the foes, I have now explained to thee this same ancient doctrine, (as I considered) that thou wert both my worshipper, and my friend. For this mystery is very important '

Arjuna spoke : Thy birth was posterior, that of Vivaswat anterior. How shall I comprehend this (that thou sayest) " I was the first to declare it ? "

characterising human existence. Consequently the doctrine of Transmigration here loses an important significance and helps only to establish a continuity in the one eternal and perfect, but concrete and human instructor. Thus it would seem that the human conception of the Tathagata has been subjected to a process of excision in order to furnish forth the conception of the Avatar, and must, as such, be held as the more primitive of the two, whatever may have been its actual history or may yet be the result of the present researches in Indian chronology of doubtful value.

III.

Transmigration in relation to Yog.

1. The doctrine of Transmigration, thus viewed in connection with Buddhism, may possibly furnish another key to the history of the Hindu mind. It is generally accepted that the founder of Buddhism, on renouncing his worldly career, took for a time to the practice of Yog mysteries, and then left them off in order to spread the gospel of his subsequent inspiration—the tenets of the Buddhist religion. Now the mysteries of Yog are supposed to have emanated from Siva; Siva is known by the significant name of Yajñari, *i. e.*, the enemy of Yâg, and Yâg again is unmistakably suggestive of Vedic rites. In other words, Yog is to be regarded as antagonistic to Vedic worship and antecedent to Buddhist revolution.

Thus the substitution of Bodhi knowledge in place of Vedic knowledge appears to have been preceded by a similar attempt to substitute Yog in the place of the probably effete Yâg. The Yâg rites are usually rendered into English by the expression burnt-offerings; they were obviously connected with Feticistic worship of fire, and were supposed to yield such tangible blessings as rain, wealth, children, success, and so forth, by the mere utterance of the unbeginning, miracle-making words of the Vedas.

2. It would also seem that Yâg or Vedic worship retained its fullest influence only till the origin and development of the various

The Holy One spoke: 'I and thou, O Arjuna,' have passed through many trans-migrations. I know all these. Thou dost not know them, O harasser of thy foes! Even though I am unborn, of changeless essence, and the lord also of all which exist, yet, presiding over nature (Prakriti) which is mine, I am born by my own mystic power (mâyâ). For whenever there is a relaxation of duty, O son of Bharat! and an increase of impiety, I then reproduce myself for the protection of the good, and the destruction of evil-doers. I am produced in every age for the purpose of establishing duty. He who truly comprehends my divine birth and action, does not undergo regeneration when he quits the body, but comes to me, Arjuna!—*Thomson's Bhagavad Gita*, pp. 29-30.

schools of Hindu philosophy. In other words, the progress of the Hindu mind, as evidenced by these schools of philosophy, helped, and very naturally too, to displace the primitive fetichism of the Vedic times, which then ceased to be a living faith. We know that the atheistic Sankhya School explained the origin of the world upon a dualistic basis, signifying an inert and active agency, or permanence and change, rather than male and female. We know, too, that the dogma of Indian Logic, that cause is *অন্যথা সিদ্ধি শূন্য নিয়তা পূর্ববর্তিতা* uniform antecedence, effectuation in any other manner being absent—so suprisingly in accord with the modern doctrine about relations between phenomena—was no recent discovery of the Hindu mind. Thus it would be no great wonder, if, when these ideas were evolved, the sanctity and influence of the Vedas and Vedic rites should have naturally faded away from the Hindu mind.

3. But what had they then to occupy their minds with instead? The answer offered to this in the following paragraphs, necessarily with a large measure of conjecture, is briefly this:—a mystical knowledge called yog, which had the semblance of science, and, which if it did not originate, at all events, largely fostered, the doctrine of transmigration, and served in that regard the same purpose that modern science does to the doctrine of the solidarity and continuity of mankind.

At the time we are speaking of, algebra, geometry and astronomy had made considerable progress. But the time for mechanics had not come yet, and physics, chemistry, physiology and medicine could not pass the empiric stage. I owe it to a venerable friend to suggest that the Yog exercises were essentially an attempt to bring under voluntary control the involuntary functions of the body. And it is well known that with this essentially human instrument they sought to attain more than the early Vedic rites had ever promised. The representative of Yog—the ascetic Siva—was the enemy of Vedic rites, and this conception obviously connects an anti-theological evolution with man's normal ambition to overmaster the forces of nature. But what is now, and to the modern world, the only means to this end—*viz.*, development of objective science, was then completely inaccessible. And thus it seems primitive unbelief attempted, by means of Yog, to cut the Gordian knot. The enemy of theologism was in this case intensely metaphysical, but the armour put on bore an unmistakeable resemblance to the positivism of true science.

In these days of Theosophic ardour, when the Hindu mind is not unnaturally tickled by genuine or make-believe admiration for

Yog, it would require a better knowledge of the physical sciences than I possess, to proclaim, with my betters, the absurdity of the occult sciences. But if the Nineteenth Century can tolerate, before the light of science, aught that savors of occultism, it cannot certainly be too much out of the way to claim for Yog a place in the history of scientific progress at a time which preceded the evolution of Buddhism itself. The perfect master of Yog, it is maintained, could do all that science ever hopes to attain and many things more. And this he could do, not by the help of Divine aid, nor even by the ultra-human agency of such imaginary beings as Pisaches, Yakshas, or Gandharvas, but by the self-directed energy of the Yogi to bring under voluntary control the involuntary functions of the human organism. Again, the processes of Yog, however deserving to be withdrawn, like nitro-glycerine and similar explosive compounds, from general access, are fully believed to be governed by nothing short of invariable laws. And thus, too, the Yogi may be classed with the ordinary votaries of physiological science. Now it was a part of the teaching of this occult science that the spirit of man might by Yog leave his own body to occupy that of another.

4. Let us suppose that, for some reason or other, the doctrine of transmigration had so strong a hold upon the early Hindu society that it survived even the belief in a god-head, and it would not be hard to conceive how the primitive scientist still revelled in vagaries about the disembodied spirit. The Vedic longings for increased longevity had not vanished with the faith in the efficacy of Vedic rites. Siva was significantly called the conqueror of Death. A Hindu Kavi^{raj}* (professor of medicine under the native system), guiltless of any predilection for European science, once freely admitted to me that the predictions of Hindu astrology could not be consistently accepted by his fraternity, who professed to resist fate and the ravages of death, and then, by way of showing more clearly the futility of astrology, he referred to Yog, which he said was a power even higher than that of medicine.

When the study of science had not advanced far enough to restrict itself entirely to phenomena and give up all speculation about the Noumena, and when yet, by a happy guess, men had attained that grandest of all inductions, the one about invariability of relation between antecedences and sequences, it was not after all, too great an aberration of the primitive Hindu intellect, to apply the principle to entities like the disembodied spirits. And when once this positive principle was associated with such metaphysical entities, the whole host of primitive beliefs,

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however incoherent as between themselves, or inconsistent with the results of modern research, naturally laid themselves open to systematization, such as we have had in our literature and religious convictions. The doctrine of Comte, that the sciences can be best systematized with the help of subjective assumptions, has yet to fight out its way through the fatalism which underlies the current faith in the universality of spontaneous evolution. But the history of the Hindu mind clearly proves what a stable system of belief can be constructed from merely metaphysical ideas, but upon a harmonious relation between the objective and the subjective.

5. Be that as it may, we are now able to see how the doctrine of transmigration, if it survived Vedic theologism, might subserve a metaphysical belief in imaginary beings, lead to a vigorous prosecution of the occult sciences, and even establish a more or less perfect system of ethics, though history, and the universal brotherhood which results from language and commercial intercourse, were entirely wanting. And all this, I should like to account for, by showing how transmigration furnished the important teaching in respect of solidarity and continuity which is now derived from sociology and other sciences.

IV

Sraddha and Communal Life.

A further step in the study of the past would disclose that the primitive Fire worship of the Hindus prevailed side by side with considerable progress in industry and the abnormal solidarity of our early communal life. The family organism was somehow or other enlarged to inordinate dimensions, so that the loss or accession of individual units failed to receive the attention due to such events. The son quietly took the place of the father, and the brother that of the brother. Possibly also, the daughter had not then, as now, to be cast out, nor the wife taken from beyond the limits of the family, or rather gens. The work of tillage and pasturage went on uniformly and regardless of domestic occurrences. In such societies the Pitris (ancestors) became not unnaturally some of the most important objects of worship. But the requirements of industry, of functions of proprietorship, and of safe inheritance, seem to have suggested the fiction—"the soul is born again in the son" (আত্মা দেব জায়তে পুত্রঃ), aided, as it must have been, by the positive evidence of maternity and the no less unmistakable effects of heredity. And after the ancestral rites had once got mixed with Vedic ceremonies, even Siva, the arch-enemy of Yag, would fail to oust the faith in the existence of spirits which, on the one hand, were supposed to pass into their heirs, and on the

other, to gather around the Sraddha entertainments prepared for them from time to time.

Thus it would seem that a rapid progress of industry, which was probably due to climatic causes, became adapted to rather untoward social conditions, *viz.*, primitive communal life; an extraordinary hankering for systematization mixed up the worship of fire with that of ancestral spirits, and suggested the progress of these spirits from generation to generation. Primitive science, in the form of Yog, failed to uproot the belief in imaginary beings, though it openly rebelled against the sovereignty of the Most High. Nay, the crude conceptions of Yog, it seems, improved upon the existing preternatural beliefs and gave currency to still more marvellous stories and pretensions. Buddhism arose, and rejected the questionable morality of Yog, but it could not throw over the doctrine of transmigration. On the contrary, it seems to have utilized that doctrine for educational purposes. And this led to a spirit of anthropomorphism, both Buddhist and Hindu, which was subsequently employed to replace atheism by pantheism, and also to transform or construct a worship of cosmic forces furnishing the most elaborate cultus ever heard of. All along, however, the positive spirit involved in a sound doctrine of causation has worked upon the Hindu mind, in which a "theological temperament," rather than the genuine primitive feeling which goes by that name, is associated with a confused belief in metaphysical existences and untenable physical laws.

Is it desirable that this long evolution must now cease for ever, because we are enabled to establish our ethics and even our worship upon the cosmology and sociology of Europe? And shall it be impossible to connect our ethics, such as we find it handed down to us, logically with European progress, and historically with Indian antecedents?

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSIL

ART. V.—ENGLISH SPELLING AND THE SPELLING-REFORM.

(Independent Section.)

SINCE the opening of Dr. Duff's five pupil schools in 1830, higher education in India has been steadily advancing. Its history is instructive and interesting from various points of view, and it has not yet arrived at a period of still waters. One of the points now attracting attention is the improvement of our elementary and lower schools. In the code of education drafted last year by the Education Committee, a decided advance is made in the direction of science. It is proposed that in elementary (or primary) schools instruction should be given in form and colour, the uses of plants and animals, and the properties of air and water. Every teacher knows how much such instruction is needed. Even our Entrance candidates are wofully ignorant of these matters. To them lever and pulley are, as a rule, unknown: *barometer* and *gravitation* are only terms in Blandford's Physical Geography; and light and heat have no more meaning for them than for their domestics. These subjects are now laid down for the middle schools, and botany and drawing are in addition recommended as optional subjects.

Now the question must arise in the minds of thinking men whether time can be found for all this work. The standards of the code, ranging up to the Entrance Course, correspond pretty nearly, as far as the elementary subjects go, with the classes in the chief schools of the day. It is clear enough, then, that the present work of these schools is ample for the time at their command. Doubtless good management could find time for a little extra work; but in this case simple economy cannot do much. There is one of the elementary subjects on which a deal of valuable time is wasted, and that is—*English*. This is the most necessary and most difficult subject we have to teach, and we do not think enough attention is paid to it. It may seem a paradox to say that time is wasted on it, and yet enough attention is not paid to it. The explanation is simple. In the elementary schools, it takes up too much time; in the middle schools it has not enough attention. In these papers we will show that reason and experiment teach us that a great reduction can be made in the time and energy spent in teaching English. Assuming the number of working hours in a week to be twenty-five, it may fairly be said that thirteen are spent on English in elementary schools. Yet our children pass with a bad grounding to the middle school, where other subjects

cramp the study of English into, let us say, eight hours a week, and at the end of a course of seven years the result is bad composition, a poor vocabulary, little or no etymology, and unintelligible reading.

The cause of this unsatisfactory state of things is to be found in the present method of spelling English. If English spelling were phonetic, no more than eight hours a week would be required in the elementary school, for a thoroughly good grounding in the course of three years, and no more than five hours a week would be needed in the middle school to build on that foundation a nobler and sounder knowledge of the language than can now be done with eight hours' work. The time thus saved could be devoted to the subjects recommended in the code, with, perhaps, the addition of shorthand in the upper forms of middle schools.

The utter absurdity of English spelling has been shown by the leading philologists of the day, and yet how high a place among accomplishments is given to a knowledge of its eccentricities. It is the bug-bear that attends us from the nursery to the grave. As soon as the child speaks a few words distinctly, he begins his share of labour in the world by learning to spell. Passing from his mother's knee to the school form, he finds that spelling is still the most important work demanded of him. A little later, spelling has no rival as a plague, with the doubtful exception of the weights and measures. By and bye, the youth finds that there are many other branches of knowledge that he is to work at, and so much attention is not given to his spelling lessons. This he feels to be a relief, and yet, to his utter bewilderment, no private letter, no class exercise, no examination paper meets favour unless it shows such a familiarity with the received spelling as he certainly did not acquire at the "Infant School." And, then, when the youth becomes a man, and is called upon to earn his own livelihood, he sees that the spell of spelling must last 'till the spell of life is broken.'

That English spelling is really difficult to learn will easily be seen. The very alphabet, as boys in some of our elementary schools already learn from Dr. Morris, is imperfect and redundant. This is the root of the evil, but it is not the whole evil. Imperfect and redundant alphabets can be and have been used consistently; but the application of the English alphabet is so whimsical that, as Mr. Ellis says, "no Englishman can tell with certainty how to pronounce any word which he has only seen written, and has not heard spoken, and no Englishman can tell with certainty how to spell any word which he has only heard spoken and has never seen written." There are, again, some languages which profess to retain in the forms of words an indication of

their origin, such as the Dutch and the Hindustani. But there is scarcely a language in which the derivations of words are so hopelessly obscured as in English. The great majority of present English spellings date no further back than the sixteenth century. English spelling, in short, is neither etymological nor historical, neither phonetic nor consistent; it is "corrupt, effete, and utterly irrational." This state of things causes a great waste of time; it is an obstacle to popular education and a hindrance to advancement. Something therefore must be done; English spelling must be reformed so as to present a tolerably good picture of English speech.

English spelling must be reformed. To most readers in India this statement seems surprisingly strange. We are told, that we are merely dogmatising, that there is no reason for our views, that a reform of English spelling is seriously to be objected to. Let us therefore hear what can be said against a spelling-reform, and if we answer the objections we shall have gained our point. This shall be the main purpose of the present article, and in a second, we will mention some further reasons for the reform. Spelling-reform is as old as spelling itself, and the arguments that will most readily occur to our readers have all been advanced before. There is at present a considerable spelling-reform, partly in England, and partly in America. The subject has been attracting great notice, and is making rapid progress in public favour. It is a strange fact, however, that although every other reform proposed in Europe is widely reported in India, this important one is hardly mentioned. We hope to be able to show that a reform is necessary, practicable, pending, of which most Indian readers and students know little or nothing.

The first important objection to a spelling-reform is the *conservative objection*. This is the most natural of all. There is, deep-seated in the human heart, a general disinclination to part with what has long been. But this feeling should not be carried to an extreme. While taking care that we do not let ourselves be tossed about by every breeze that blows, we ought to consider thoroughly all proposed schemes of reform to see if there be any real advantage to be gained by change. No man should be allowed to say on any matter, as Archbishop Trenchard does on this of spelling, that "custom is law here for better and for worse." This is tantamount to saying that what is bad must continue in use simply because it is now in use. It is, however, a noteworthy fact that most changes that have had the welfare of mankind for their object, have been adopted at last, though laughed at and attacked when proposed. In the words of Max Müller, "The innate regard for truth and reason, however dormant or timid at times, has

always proved irresistible in the end, enabling men to part with all they hold most dear and sacred, whether corn-laws, or Stuart dynasties, or Papal legates, or heathen idols. Nations have before now changed their numerical figures, their letters, their chronology, their weights and measures." But this is not all. The defenders of conservative spelling forget that the subject of spelling-reform must come up, some time or other, in the history of every written language. Spoken language *must* vary; changes *must* take place. Of course, there are men who meet every argument with a flat denial. Thus in the Educational Blue-Book for 1881-82, Mr. Brodie, the Inspector of Schools for the district of Worcester, says, that "pronunciation has altered very little since the days of Shakespeare." Very different is the idea of the learned writer of the article on the alphabet in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," when he says that "if Shakespeare could now stand on our stage, he would seem to speak to us in an unknown tongue." We need say no more on this remark of the last professed champion of settled spelling than that the great champions of the past Bacon, Alford, and Trench, acknowledge that pronunciation must change, and that it is continually changing.* The argument of Bacon and Trench here is that if we alter our spelling to suit pronunciation now, we shall have to do so again and again as pronunciation keeps changing. This argument is based on a wrong hypothesis. It takes for granted that a word is something that is written, and that spoken language is only of secondary value. This opinion is very largely held in India; but the case really stands the other way. Language is essentially spoken, and written language is to be valued only in as far as it gives us a faithful representation of spoken language. This is the foundation of philology and phonetics. If, therefore, the pronunciation of any word change after a phonetic notation has been adopted, the form of that particular word should undergo a further modification. We find the following sentences in Chamber's Encyclopædia. "The Sanscrit language furnishes the most convincing proof of the originally phonetic character of alphabetic writing, for not only were the words written exactly as they were sounded, but every change which a word

* We speak of Trench as a past champion, because his views are antiquated. The great philological lights of the present day are all in favour of a spelling-reform. See what Dr. Murray says: "It is not only pitiful to see the expressions of Archbishop Trench quoted against the rational reconstruction of our spelling, but

it is unfair to Dr. Trench himself, who then stood so well in the front of philology, and we may be perfectly sure that, if leisure had been given him to keep pace with the progress of science, he would now have been second to no one as a spelling reformer."

underwent was consistently indicated by a change in the writing. Notwithstanding this fact, there is no language in which the etymological and grammatical relations of words are more clearly exhibited or more easily traced than in Sanscrit." It is also a well known fact that in phonetically represented languages pronunciation changes much more slowly than in those that have a capricious notation like the English, and this has been abundantly proved by students of Italian and Spanish. On the other hand, if a capricious spelling is considered unchangeable while the pronunciation goes on changing, the time must come when the spelling and pronunciation will bear no resemblance to each other. This has already taken place in Thibet and China. The Chinese written language is composed of several thousand word-signs instead of letters, and there are thus 1,100 ways of representing the simple vowel sound of *be*. From Dr. Tylor we learn that the Thibetans obtained their alphabet from the Sanscrit, and yet the word spelt *s-g-r-o-l-m-a* (according to Roman letters) is pronounced *dolma*, and the name of the province of which Lassa is the capital is sounded *oo*, but spelt *D-b-u-s*. There is deep wisdom in Bacon's remark. "Time is the great innovator, and if time of course alters things to the worse and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall the end be?"

We will now go on to speak of some of the spelling-reforms of the past, with a view to show that the subject is by no means the crotchet of a few, that it is, indeed, as we said, inevitable in a written tongue. When the Greeks of old borrowed the alphabet from the Phœnicians, they did not take it as they found it, but made several alterations in the forms and uses of the letters, and even added to their number. They traced their characters from left to right, and employed as vowels what before were only breathings. As time went on, and education spread, the alphabet underwent continual changes, and in B. C. 403, the Athenians officially altered their spelling. The Romans adapted the Greek alphabet to their language; but they abandoned the significant names of the letters, which the Greeks had taken over from the Phœnicians, and named each letter according to the nature and quantity of its sound. The letter they used least was the Greek *kappa*, *c* representing both the sound of that letter and the hard sound of *g*. This imperfection is said to have been remedied by the keeper of the first writing school in Rome, about B. C. 230. A separate character was introduced for *g*, and *c* was kept for the sound of *kappa*. The only other glaring imperfection in the Roman alphabet was the use of *v* as both a vowel and a consonant. The Emperor Claudius proposed to adopt a turned *f* for the

consonant sound; but this and a few other attempts of the Emperors were unsuccessful. Yet the Roman notation was to a great extent phonetic, and the spelling followed the pronunciation. Professor Max Müller says, "when the copies of books could easily be counted, and when the *norma scribendi* was in the hands of a few persons, the difficulty of adapting the writing to the ever varying pronunciation of the language was comparatively small. The small minority of people who were able to read and write pleased themselves as best they could, and by timely concessions prevented a complete estrangement between the written and the spoken language." The phonetic notation of the Romans lives, with but slight change, in the modern Italian, which is therefore justly considered one of the easiest languages to learn. The language of Spain, composed as it is of various elements, had originally a most corrupt and confused spelling. The labours of Lebrixa and Aleman in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did much to reduce it to order. The Academy then took up the work, and by repeated efforts at last succeeded, at the beginning of the present century, in bringing about so thorough a reform that the pronunciation of any word is now immediately known to one who is acquainted with the phonetic values of the letters. (*See* Ticknor's "Spanish Literature," part III.) In French, which is mainly derived from Latin, the written and spoken languages are very dissimilar; but the old idea of consistency is still distinctly traceable, in the use of digraphs and combinations of letters, as well as in that of single characters; and the employment of accents is an additional help. Yet see what Mr. Pagliardini says: "I may just call your attention to the fact that so far from a reform of spelling being repulsive to the feelings of philologists and great writers in France, such men as Fénelon, Labruyère, Bernardin de Saint Pierre, Voltaire, Rousseau, Charles Nodier, Firmin Didot, the Philological Society of Paris, and a host of others were favourable to phonetic spelling for the French language." In Germany, where the spelling never deviated much from the phonetic standard, there is a strong spelling-reform movement. The *Kölnische Zeitung* a very influential paper, following the example of Schleicher, has dropped all silent letters, and advocates the adoption of the Roman character. Prussia, Austria, Bavaria and Wurtemberg have now an official spelling, and the Prussian minister of education published a couple of years ago the Government rules on orthography, to be introduced into all Government and military schools. Most of the great political papers have adopted this spelling. There are also said to be good phonetic systems by Professors Rammer and Sanders. The

reform of Spelling in Holland was an accomplished fact a hundred years ago. The spelling, however, is not entirely phonetic, though very largely so; in some instances an etymological spelling has been preferred. In England there have been several attempts at spelling-reform of more or less merit. The first great spelling reformer was the author of the *Ormulum*, in the twelfth or early part of the thirteenth century. He adopted a consistent representation of the sounds of his own dialect, and tried to introduce a uniform system of orthography. On this account his work is said by Dr. Morris to be "a mine of philological wealth." In the sixteenth century the great scholars, Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith, the latter Secretary of State to Edward VI. and Elizabeth, were in favour of a phonetic reform of spelling. There were also Thomas Churchyard and the great schoolmaster Alexander Gil. In 1569 a writer, named John Hart, published a book printed phonetically, and recommending a reform of English spelling. In the following century, Dr. John Wilkins, the eloquent and scientific Bishop of Chester, argued strongly for a reform, and it requires no Macaulay's school-boy to discover that Milton, who had studied under Gil at St. Paul's school, in many cases, preferred a phonetic to a stereotyped spelling. But, as Marsh justly remarks, "all the old English writers on orthography and pronunciation fail alike in the want of clear and descriptive analysis of sounds, and the illustration by comparison with the orthoepy of other languages more stable and uniform in articulation." And this was the cause of their failure in carrying a reform. The only way to effect a reform of spelling is to analyse carefully, and yet not too fastidiously, the sounds of the language, and this is what is done by the best spelling-reformers of the present day. Among the reformers of the last century and the early part of the present, the names of Benjamin Franklin and Noah Webster will live to show that America has not been behindhand in this effort to cast aside a pet abuse. Dr. Franklin was in favour of a strictly phonetic notation, and Dr. Webster, working in the time of Lowth and Walker, changed the spelling of hundreds of words on the grounds of analogy and etymology.

The next important objection to a phonetic spelling reform is, that "the derivations of words, especially from foreign languages, are utterly defaced and extinguished," or, as Trench puts it, that "it would obliterate those clear marks of birth and parentage which words out of number bear now upon their very fronts, or are ready upon a very slight interrogation to declare to us." Now it might and should be considered a sufficient answer to such an objection that it is not

the purpose of alphabetic writing to teach etymology. This answer acquires additional weight from the testimony of such men as Professor Sayce and Mr. Ellis. The former says, "Historical comparative philology is based on the assumption that Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, or any other of the ancient tongues were pronounced, roughly speaking, as we find them spelt, and it is upon this assumption that the laws of letter change and the whole framework of modern philology have been built." Mr. Ellis is even more explicit. "Those," he says, "who will be at the pains to examine any *original language*, such as the Sanskrit, the Phœnician, the Arabic, the Gothic, the Russian, or the Cherokee, will at once perceive that the fundamental idea which actuated their inventors, was, to create a set of symbols, sufficiently distinct in outline and easy of formation, which should correspond with the elementary sounds of any particular language, in such a way, that the sight of any combination of symbols should instantly re-call the correspondent combination of elementary sounds to one familiar with the language; and conversely, that the hearing of any combination of those elementary sounds which were considered in the invention of an alphabet, should instantly suggest to one who is familiar with its use, the correspondent combination of symbols. In other words, all original alphabets are essentially phonetic." That alphabetic writing was originally phonetic the upholders of the present orthography cannot and do not deny. They seem to glory in the changes of the past, but shudder at further change. In the actual using of words, moreover, whether in speaking or writing, we never stop to think of their derivation, and only exceptionally of their relation to the words of other languages. If we know the correct meanings of the words we use and are sure that we use them in a received sense, we are content. And then, again, the number of the students of etymology is very small in proportion to the number of general readers and writers, for most men take etymology on trust.

But the believer in etymological spelling is not to be so easily satisfied. And we will go on to show what we said above, that our present spelling is *not* etymological. There are hundreds of unetymological spellings in English, but time and space will admit of our noticing only the typical words of two of the most important classes of such spellings, those that entirely fail to suggest their etymons, and those that are positively misleading as to their derivation.

It is a strange fact that the majority of etymological objectors among Indian students are but disciples of Archbishop Trench, and feebly echo his plea that 'in English words a letter silent to the ear is yet most eloquent to the eye,—the *g*, for instance, in *deign*,

reign, and *impugn*, telling as it does of *dignor*, *regno*, and *impugno*; even as the *b* in *debt* and *doubt* is not idle, but tells of *debitum* and *dubium*.* All these words will be noticed in their proper place. Suffice it here to say, that the *g* landed by Trench is not used systematically. If it is to appear in *design*, why not in *disdain*? if in *reign*, why not in *rule* and *realm*? if in *impugn*, why not in *poniard*? But it is even stranger than this to find Trench, after speaking up thus boldly for the existing spelling on etymological grounds, actually going on to prove, in the most conclusive way, that English spelling is by no means etymological. Among the words he cites for examination are *scent*, *ceiling*, *ell*, and these come under the first class of the words we will take up. Trench's remarks on the first and last of these tell more against than for his purpose. "In the earlier editions of '*Paradise Lost*,' and in the writings of that age, you will find *scent*, an odour, spelt *sent*. It was better so; there is no other noun substantive with which it is in danger of being confounded; while its relation with *sentio*, with *result*, *consent*, and the like, is put out of sight by its novel spelling; the intrusive *c* serving only to mislead. *Ell* gives us no clue to its own meaning; but in *eln*, used in Holland's translation of Camden, we recognise *ulna* at once." The French *sentir* and the Anglo-Saxon *eln* are the direct etymons of these words. In *ceiling* the Archbishop is deceived. The best authorities agree in the opinion that it is a different word from *sealing*, and owes its origin to the French *ciel*, heaven, a canopy. *Feather*, *measure*, and *treasure* have no right to the *a*. The original Anglo-Saxon is and *wrecca* are entirely disguised in the modern *ice* and *wretch*. *Newt* and *nickname* have stolen an *n* from the indefinite article, the original forms being *ewt* and *ekename*,* while *alder* has lost an original *n* (Anglo-Saxon *næddre*). The *ph* in *nephew* is neither etymological nor phonetic; both the Old English and the French forms were *neveu*. It is only to those who are acquainted with Hindustani that the derivation of *sepoy* through that language from the Persian *sipah*, an army, is at all clear. *Candidature* and *pontiff* have changed so much in meaning, that their descent from *candidus* and *pontifex* is by no means evident.

In treating of the words that mislead as to their origin, we will first deal with the extolled silent *g* and *b*. It is said that the *g* in *design*, *reign*, and *impugn* tells of *dignor*, *regno*, and *impugno*; but the fact is that the *g* has crept into the English words, not because it appeared in the Latin, but because it was retained in the old French forms from which they were directly taken. But in

* Anglo-Saxon *ecán*, to add. to be similar in formation. Thus *nickname* and *surname* are seen

Old French, as also in modern French, the *g* was preserved for a distinct orthoepic purpose, and where no such purpose would be answered the letter was dropt, as in *daintie*, *desdein*, *reule*, *realme*. The 'orthoepic *g*,' as we may style it, is seen in many French words which had no *g* at all in their Roman forms. Let the *g* in the English *dignify*, *regular*, and *regal* tell of their immediate French etymons or of their ultimate Latin roots ; it has the best right to hold its place, and that is, it is *sounded*. In *feign*, moreover, the silent consonant is worse than useless ; for the word comes, not directly from the Latin *fingere*, but from the French *feindre*. The old English forms were *fejnen* and *seynen*, and the middle English *feinen*, and, as Max Müller says, " It was a mere etymological feint to insert the *g* of the Latin *fingo* and the French *feignant*." Similar is the case of the words *sovereign*, *foreign*, *debt* and *doubt*. *Sovereign* and *foreign* have nothing to do with the French *régne* and the Latin *regnum*. They come finally from the Latin *super* and *foras* modified by the adjective termination *anus*. The old French words were *soverain* and *forain*, and the middle English forms actually had no *g*, but were simply *soverain* and *foraine*. *Debt* and *doubt* do not come directly from the Latin *debitum*, and *dubium*, but from the old French *dette* and *douter*, and the words were first spelt *dette* and *doute* in English. A *b* was afterwards introduced into the old French words, but it has again been thrown out. In English the *b* is not found in these words till the sixteenth century. As instances of words that easily tell their derivation, Trench mentions *groggram*, *pigmy currants*, *bran-new*, *scrip* (of paper), and *frontispiece*, and, these like all the rest, serve only to weaken his position, for *groggram* (O. E. *grosgrain*) has no connection with *gram*, nor *pigmy* (Fr. *pygmé*, from the Latin and Greek) with *pig*, nor *currants* (L. *corinthus*) with *current*, nor *bran-new* (A. S. *brand*, a burning,) with *bran*, nor *scrip* (O. F. *escript*, from L. *scribere*) with *scrap*, nor *frontispiece* (O. Fr. *frontispiece*, from L. *frontem* and *spicere*) with *piece*. *Bridegroom*, again, is the Anglo-Saxon *brydguma*, the bride's man, and *drake* is compounded of *end* the old word for *duck*, and the masculine suffix *rake*. *Lanthorn* was formed on the supposition that the word had some connection with *horn*, because the sides of lanterns were originally made of horn. But the true derivation, Latin *lanterna* through the French *lanterne*, is now well-known, and the form *lanthorn* has all but passed away. *Pickaxe* is unconnected with *axe*, the middle English and old English *pikois* meaning a mattock and coming from the old French *piquer*, to pierce. *Stirrur* is the Anglo-Saxon *stigrap*, a rope for mounting. The strange form

I wis arose from the mistaken notion that *wis* is an inflection of the old verb *witan*, to know. The real old form was *gewis*, an adjective connected etymologically with *witan*, but used adverbially in the sense of *certainty*. The middle English forms were *ywis* and *iwis*. *Isinglass* is not a derivative of *is* (*ice*) and *glæs* (*glass*), but a corruption of the old Dutch *huzenblas*, from *huyzen*, a sturgeon, and *blas*, a bladder. *Shame-faced* is similar in formation to *steadfast*, having nothing to do with the Latin *facies*. It comes from the Anglo-Saxon *scámu*, modesty, and the suffix *fast*, fixed. The form *shamefastness* appears in Tyndale's *New Testament*, and *shammfasst* in the *Ormulum*. The spelling *scissors* reminds us of the Latin *scissus*, passive participle of *scindere*, to split, and the meaning seems to endorse such a derivation; but the middle English forms were *sisoures* and *cisoures*, which point to the old French *cisoirs*, shears, derived from the Latin *cisus*, passive participle of *cædere*, to cut. The etymological spelling would be *cisors*, which would be consistent with *incisors* and *incision*. *Controller* is bad etymological spelling, but *comptroller* is positively misleading, having been introduced under the mistaken idea that it is connected with the French *compte*, whereas it comes from the old French *countre-rolle*, a cross-register to check an original. The words *island*, *tongue*, *icicle*, *deuce*, *clerk*, and *disk*, wear a decidedly French appearance; but the first three are genuine Teutonic words, and the last three were taken directly from the Latin. The *s* in *island* was inserted from the fancied connection of the word with the French *isle*; but the spelling *iland* was common in Shakespear's time, and the Anglo-Saxon word was *ealand* or *igland*. *Tongue* is etymologically independent of *langue* and *lingua*, for *tunge* is the Anglo-Saxon, old English, and middle English form, while *tung* was by no means uncommon in middle English. The Anglo-Saxon *isgicel* (icicle) was formed from the word *is* and the diminutive termination *gicel*. *Deuce* is nothing but the vocative case of the Latin *Deus*, God, used as an interjection in France and England. *Clerk* and *disk* were introduced at the time of the mission of St. Augustine, under the forms *clerc* and *disc* from the Latin *clericus* and *discus*. *Adventure*, *assault*, *default*, and *victuals*, on the other hand, seem to come directly from the Latin, but they owe their present forms to the pedantry rife at the revival of learning. The old forms of these words in English were *aventure*, *assaute*, *defiut*, and *vitailles*, which are plainly of French origin. *Rhyme* and *scythe*, again, are falsely suggestive of Greek roots; but *sithe* is the genuine Anglo-Saxon and old English spelling, while the form *rhyme* for *rime* (Teutonic *rim*, number) according to Skeat, cannot be found earlier

than 1550. *Whole* and *could* have been formed on the false analogy of *who* and *would*; but the old forms were *hole* and *eoude*. In many English words a distinctly phonetic tendency can be seen in their departure from an etymological spelling, and first among these comes *ant*, which Trench traces through five stages of its history. But on Trench's etymological hypothesis the word should be pronounced as it now is pronounced, and yet spelt *amt*. The word comes from the Anglo-Saxon *œmette*, and all the old spellings preserve the *m*. But *historical* spelling is not now possible, and the *n* in the word *ant*, is neither etymological nor historical, but phonetic. *Lord*, *lean*, *laugh*. *lot*, *loud*, *nut*, and *roof* had their Anglo-Saxon etymons beginning with *h*, and *nail* and *tail* are all that now remain of the ancient *nægel* and *tægel*. *Tense* was spelt *temps* by Chaucer and is undoubtedly of French derivation. *Savage* is the Old French, *salvage* and the Latin *silvaticus*. And the common words *each*, *which*, and *such* have dropped an *l*, which they had in the Anglo-Saxon and old English.* Many amusing mistakes are made about such common words as *gibberish*, *tarpauling gin* (spirit), *cousin-german*, *gherkin*, *grass-widow*, *equerry*.

This section would be incomplete if we said nothing of the words ending in *our*, those beginning with *ph* and *kn*, and those containing the *gh* which was once a guttural, for it is about these words that etymological objectors are particularly furious now, though many of our readers doubtless know that Dean Alford, oppose such spellings as *color* and *labor* adopted by the Americans, but few of them can be aware of the facts contained in the following extract from an article by Mr. E. Jones in the *Schoolmaster*, for October 1872.

"As an instance of the futility of his objection to phonetic spelling, we may refer to the letter of the late Dean Alford published in *Good Words*, a few years ago. In spite of his great learning and ability, the Dean, like many other highly educated Englishmen, was led away by this popular fallacy to write as follows: 'I remark, as to spelling, on the trick now so universal across the Atlantic, and becoming in some quarters common with us in England, of leaving out the *u* in the termination *our*', writing *honor*, *favor*, *neighbor*, *savior*, etc. Now the objection to this is not only that it makes very ugly words, totally unlike any thing in the English language before, but that it obliterates all trace of the derivation of the word. It is true, that *honor* and *favor* are derived originally from Latin words spelt exactly the

* This subject of past phonetic changes in English words will be more fully dwelt on in our second article.

same, but it is also true; that we do not get them direct from the Latin, but through the French forms which ended in *eur*.'

"It was pointed out, however, to the learned Dean by some of the readers of *Good Words* : (1.) As regards the ugliness of *honor*, *favor*, etc., without the *u*, and that there was nothing like it in the English language before, that there are not less than three hundred words of this class, while there are only about thirty in all in which the *u* is ever written. (2) That as the French form for *honor* was spelt with two *n*'s (*honneur*), we ought, on etymological grounds, to spell the English word in the same way. (3) The French termination being *eur*, why should the English be *our*?

"The Dean at once saw his error, and as a man of *honor* frankly and candidly admitted it, saying, that the spelling in question was not guided at all by the derivation of words. In the same manner all similar objections will fall to the ground when brought to the test of facts, and this incident shows the importance of taking nothing upon trust, even from great men."

Kington Oliphant says that the word *honour* was introduced into English at the conquest, and that *honure*, the French form, had existed in Gaul for 1,100 years before, and then goes on to say, "If we change it into *honor*, we pare down its history and we lower it to the level of the many words that came in at the Reformation." But is not *honour* itself such a change of form and paring down of history as *honor* would be? The latter form has at least the plea of *primitive* spelling; but *honour* is neither French nor Latin; it is a mere confusion of the two. There are many words in English which once ended in *our*, that have dropped the *u*. As familiar instances we may mention *tutor*, *professor*, *author*, *editor*, *doctor*, *governor*, *emperor*, *error*, *terror*, *inferior*, *superior*. There is also great inconsistency in the spelling of derivatives from the words in question. Thus we have *discolour* but *discoloration*, *labourer* but *laboratory* and *elaborate*, *vapoury*, but *vaporous*, *odourless* but *odorous*. And are *neighbour* and *harbour* of French origin?

With regard to the *ph* in Latin and Greek derivatives, it is said that it helps us to trace the words to their originals. Here we will quote the words of Max Müller. "Because the Italians write *filosofo* are they less aware than the English who write *philosopher*, and the French who write *philosophe*, that they have before them the Latin *philosophus* and the Greek *philosophos*? If we write *f* in *fancy*, why not in *phantom*? if in *frenzy* and *frantic*, why not in *phrenology*? A language which tolerates *vial* for *phial* need not shiver at *filosofer*." In the same way, it is no easier to trace to the

Latin and Greek *phthisis*, the modern English *phthisic* than the Italian *tisico*, the Spanish *tisica* and the *tizzic* of Milton. *Viren* is a mere corruption of *fosen*, and *visicion* for *physician* is found in Tyndale's *New Testament*. *Visionomie* and *visionomie* are the middle English forms of *physiognomy*. These words in *ph* are only the types of the class of words directly from Latin, which it is said with truth represent with great exactness their Latin spellings. But as we have seen the resemblance of form is not needed to show the derivation, and we may further remark that it is just these words that will be the least changed in any system of phonetic notation, for they are, as a rule, pronounced as they are spelt. The most important change in these words will be as regards the letter *c*. But it is well known that the Latin *c* was pronounced as *k* is by us, and since the English *c* does not uniformly represent this sound, it should be replaced by *k*. When the Greeks of old adopted a Roman word or name in which *c* appeared, they substituted their *kappa* for it, and the English have already followed their example in the spelling of such words as *convoke*, *provoke*, *embark*, *remarkable*, *embarkation*.

The *k* in such words as *knave* and *know* is defended by referring to the Anglo-Saxon *cnafa* and *cnawan*. It is said besides, that the present spelling shows at once the relation of *knave* to the German *knabe*, and that the *k* in *know* is seen to be useful in forming compounds like *acknowledge*. But if *c* is the letter in the root of the English word, why put *k* in its place? If the *c* became silent so long ago as the time of the Conquest and cannot stand, it had better go without a useless substitute. The Germans write *knabe* with a *k*, not to show its relation to similarly derived words in other Teutonic languages, but simply because the *k* is *sounded*. And such also is the example of the Romans, who, from the root *gno*, form *nosco* and *cognosco*, *notu*; and *ignotus*, and from the root *gna*, *nascor* and *cognatus*, using the *g* where it is required by the sound and dropping it where it is not.

And so also, we are told, that the *gh* in *night* should not be cast aside, because it was once pronounced and corresponds to the *ch* of the German *nacht*; and here our answer is the same as with reference to *k* in *knave*. And then, if we are to write *gh* in *night* because it was once sounded, should we not preserve the symbol of the guttural in *law*, which comes from the Anglo-Saxon *laga* or *lagu*, in *Sunday* from *Sunnandæg*, in *Friday* from *Frígedæg*, *lie* (to rest) from *licgan*, *lie* (to utter falsehood) from *leogan*, *elbow* from *elnboga*, and a host of others? In *ghost* and *aghast* there is no reason whatever for the *h*, for

the old forms were *gost* and *agast*, and the *h* is not to be found in the Anglo-Saxon roots; while in *sprightly* there was no guttural sound at all, since the word comes from the French *esprit* and was spelt *sprittly* and *spritely* till comparatively modern times. We will close this section with a quotation from Professor Skeat. "It deserves to be stated that a great number of our words have been at various times re-spelled according to their supposed etymology, and that, in many cases, such re-spelling is utterly misleading. I wish to state that I have been for years three and more [now seven years] at work upon English etymology; and that I have been much struck with the stupid way in which our spelling has been tampered with in order to suggest, encourage "and make the public swallow a false derivation."

Closely connected with the etymological are the *historical and relational objections* to a phonetic spelling-reform. It is said, for instance, that the words *conscience* and *sight* cannot now be altered since their present spellings are as old as the writings of Chaucer. But we have already seen that there have been many changes of spelling since the days of Chaucer. Some of these changes have been distinctly phonetic, while, on the other hand, many words spelt phonetically by Chaucer have been tampered with by the pedantry of modern times. If historical spelling is to be worth anything, it should be systematic, and old spellings should be restored after the fashion of Walter Savage Landor. But even Landor was not consistent, for he adopts some old spellings and rejects or neglects others. And it is no marvel either, for it is a difficult matter to decide where the line should be drawn. Shall we adopt spellings which can be found in Chaucer? or shall we go as far back as the *Vision of Piers the Ploughman*? or, on the other hand, shall we content ourselves with the forms of the Elizabethan era? If we strive to write the earliest form that a word assumed in the language, we must write *kanave* for *knave*, *puntillo* for *punctilio*, and *ellagaito* for *alligator*, and this, moreover, while we pronounce the words as they are now pronounced. Professor Sweet in his *Hand-book of Phonetics* remarks, "Historical spelling *destroys the materials on which alone history itself can be based.*"

In his *Study of Words* Trench declares that phonetic spelling would destroy the 'lively interest' with which we 'discover words to be of closest kin which we had never considered till now, but as entire strangers to one another.' A good answer to this argument on the 'ethnographic relations of words,' as DeQuincey has it, is to be found in the fact that there are, indeed, very few English words in which these relations are immediately evident from their

forms. It is perfectly right and in accordance with scientific phonetics that the difference in the sounds of the words *wring* and *wrong*, *haft* and *have*, *shred* and *sherd*, *shire* and *shore* should be denoted by a difference in the spellings. There are meanwhile, such words as *height*, *flight*, *sieve*, and *mirth* which are needlessly distinct from *high*, *fly*, *sift*, and *merry* as far as the vowels are concerned. Furthermore, there is no difficulty in tracing the connection between such differently spelt groups of words as *bleed*, *bless*, and *blossom* ; *cordial*, *courage*, and *quarry* ; *risk* and *section* ; *enthusiasm* and *theology* ; *evince* and *vanguish* ; *wealth* and *wilderness* ; *gaud*, *jewel*, and *joy* ; *burden* and *bairn* ; *madam* and *monkey* ; *alley*, *ledge* and *larv* ; and these are but few among scores of groups that will readily occur to every one. Again, who does not know that *cow* and *kine*, *cat* and *kitten*, *corn* and *kernel*, *quell* and *kill*, *fancy* and *phantom*, *skim* and *scum* are etymologically related? "When words," writes a lady educationist, "so apparently different as one *tear* and the French *larme* ; as the Latin *coquo* and the Greek *pepto* ; or French *me*me and Latin *ipse*, are shown to be closely related, we need surely not be afraid of any result from phonetic spelling. If, again, the Sanskrit *coupen* can turn into *palace* and *courts* in the hands of the professors of this science, we may securely leave the matter to them and not feel under any necessity to sacrifice the good of the greatest number to the claim of the privileged few." And Dr. Morris says, "we have documents in an unbroken line from the time of Alfred the Great to the present day. Were we to write *ov* instead of *of*, and *nave* instead of *knave*, and *rite* for *right*, etymology would not suffer. Older records of our speech would give us all the information we want."

Another of Trench's arguments does not readily occur to every one. He says, "There are in every language vast numbers of words which the ear does not distinguish from one another, but which are at once distinguishable to the eye by the spelling. Now, of course, it is a real disadvantage, and may be the cause of serious confusion that there should be words in our spoken language of entirely different origin and meaning, which yet cannot be differentiated from one another. The phonographers simply propose to extend this disadvantage, already cleaving to our spoken, to the written language as well."

We hold that it is no disadvantage at all that there are such words in English, which cannot be distinguished in sound, but are undoubtedly distinct in meaning. There is, and can be, no confusion at all in the use of such words. If there were, some change would, of necessity, be introduced into the sound of one or some of the words for the purpose of distinction. Let any of the groups

instanced by Trench be incidentally introduced into a sentence, and if the sentence contain any meaning, that meaning and the meaning of each individual word will be perfectly clear as soon as the sentence is pronounced, independently, that is, of the spellings of the paronyms. The uselessness of such distinctions in spelling is made still more evident by the fact that there are in English very nearly *seven hundred homonyms*, words of the same spelling and sound, but of different application. We have not included such words as are merely the same word used as different parts of speech, for if these were taken into consideration, the number would be, not hundreds, but thousands. And surely if there be any virtue in *paronymic distinctions*, these numerous English homonyms should be made 'distinguishable to the eye.' If *hew*, to cut asunder, should be written differently from *hue*, a colour, this *hue* and the first word of the phrase *hue and cry* should also be distinguished in form, especially as they are 'the same parts of speech.' And so with *queue* and the two *cues*; *betel* and the three *beetles*; *peal* and the three *peels*, &c. But this distinction of paronyms is worse than useless; it is mischievous. When children of the tenderest years are checked for confounding the spelling of paronyms like *air* and *ere*, *ate* and *eight*, *medal* and *meddle*, they lose their self-confidence and nervously avoid attempting to spell such words. And then it is entirely forgotten that there are in English very many words which are of the same spelling, but are sounded differently for different applications (and these we may call *dionyms*), such as *bow*, *row*, *sow*, *gill*, *gout*, *lower*, *hinder*, *canon*, &c. Now all these words would, in any system of phonetic spelling, be written differently. Thus, both by reducing paronyms to homonyms and converting dionyms into differently spelt words, a phonetic notation would be a decided advantage, and not a disadvantage.

We have sometimes been asked, "who is to be the judge of those words that are now variously pronounced?" This objection is carried a little further by Trench, when he says, "Before there was any fixed and settled orthography in our language, when, therefore, every body was more or less a phonographer, seeking to write down the word as it sounded to him (for there was no other law to guide him), the variations of spelling were infinite." And, again, "uneducated people in our own day have no rule but the sound to guide them. How is it that they do not all spell alike?" The former of these quotations implies that at the time spoken of there was a settled English language, but no settled English spelling, and that the result of such a state of things was the confusion of spelling. Now a glance at Oliphant's *Sources of Standard*

English or the Clarendon Press *Specimens of Early English* will show the most superficial student that down to the sixteenth century there were numerous dialects in England, very many more than are said to exist still among the uneducated, and with this additional disadvantage that there was no received standard of pronunciation. The dialects then existing could be roughly divided into three groups, the Northern, the Midland, and the Southern, and these differed from one another almost as much as distinct languages, not only as to their pronunciation, but as to their vocabulary and grammatical terminations as well, while in the Danelagh there was a constant modification of forms and paring away of terminations going on for centuries. "Each shire spoke that which was right in its own eyes." Hence the great diversity referred to by Trench. When printing presses arose in England, it was found convenient to have one form for each word, and the printers began, without even the rule of *pronunciation* to guide them (for foreign printers, as Caxton's men undoubtedly were, could hardly be expected to have mastered the various English dialects,) to print the same word always in the same way, sometimes after the spelling of one writer, and sometimes after that of another. This evil existed for many years, in the sixteenth century the commonest words often appearing in two or three forms in the same work. We are not yet quite free from the effects of this practice. Occasionally a compromise was struck between two dialects; thus the Northern *suord* and the Southern *swurd* were combined to form the present *sword*. "Never," says Oliphant, "did any tongue employ so many variations of vowels as the English to represent the sound *e*: here is one more puzzle for the foreigner. This comes from our tongue being compounded in different shires; the form, *ie*, came from the South-East, the form *ea*, from the South-West, the form *e* and also *ee* from the North." When Trench says that uneducated people now have no rule but the pronunciation to guide them, he implies that the educated *have* some other rules for their guidance. We have already said enough of the fancied guidance found in the etymology and history of English words, and we now see that English spelling is not even phonetic; it was not built and does not stand on phonetic principles. Where then does the guidance come from? It is also quite incorrect to say that the 'bad spelling' of the uneducated is due only to their following the sound. The true explanation is to be found in the 'innphinitlley divourcifyed plaau auve spueling,' as Professor Gregory wittily writes it. There are in English so many signs for each sound, that those who write phonetically after only a brief acquaintance with printed words have

before them a wide field of choice, for the symbolisation of their pronunciation, and the result is, that very few choose the same letter or combination of letters for the same sound. If the English language were phonetically written, this would not and could not happen. If the spelling of words were in accordance with pronunciation, pronunciation would not change so quickly as at present. A symbol would be fixed upon for each sound, and whenever that symbol met the eye its proper sound and no other would unhesitatingly be uttered. It is true, that there are some words which are now pronounced differently by different men of the best education, such are *cognizance*, *either*, *neither*, *larynx*, *pharynx*, *imagery*, *fealty*, *humble*, *slough*, *seamstress*, *sapphire*, *privacy* and a few others. But since these words are by no means numerous, no harm would be done if they were for the time being written in two different ways. The best pronunciation, and therefore the fittest spelling, would, as a natural consequence, survive. Those who object to such an arrangement should lift up their voices against numerous similar duplicates already existing in English, such, for example, as *anapest* and *anapæst*, *anchoret* and *anchorite*, *felly* and *felloe*, *Brahmin* and *Brahman*, *busnet* and *basenet*, *caldron* and *cauldron*, *clinch* and *clench*. On their hypothesis, one form should be chosen and kept to at all risks, while the pronunciation is left to range at large. But what can be said in defence of the words that have two received spellings each, both of the same origin, meaning, and sound? Mr. Webb, in his key to the Entrance Course for this year, has drawn the attention of Entrance students to three such double forms, *vender* and *vendor*, *pedler* and *pedlar*,* *licence* and *license*. And he might have gone on to warn them that there are scores of such words in English. As familiar instances we may mention *jail* and *goal*, *draft* and *draught*, *bully* and *bulley*, *meter* and *metre*, *center* and *centre*, *balk* and *baulk*, *bark* and *barque*, *drum* and *drachm*, *calif* and *caliph*, *cigar* and *segar*, *coco* and *cocoa*, *cooly* and *coolie*, *burden* and *burthen*, *choir* and *quire*, *licorice* and *liquorice*. In a system of phonetic spelling, such absurdities would be impossible.

It is said, that there are in English rules for marking the difference between long and short vowels, and reference is made to the doubling of a single consonant after a vowel to intimate that it is short, and to the addition of a final silent *e* to intimate that the preceding vowel is long; as, *Mary* and *marry*, *mad* and *made*. The word *rule* applied to crotchets like these is but a misnomer. To see how inadequate the first of these rules is,

* There is also a third form, *peddler*.

we need only glance at such common doublets as *fagot* and *faggot*, *wagon* and *waggon*, *foray* and *forray*, *caligraphy* and *calligraphy*, *culisthenics* and *callisthenics*. *Baile* and *bass* are types of a class of words in which the rule of doubling the consonant is exactly reversed, and there are hundreds of words in which the letter *l* is doubled without any orthoepic effect whatever. With regard to the final *e* the incongruities are still more striking. The youngest children have to be taught that *h-i-v-e* is *live*, but *l-i-v-e* is *live*, that *l-a-v-e* is *lave*, but *h-a-v-e* is *have*. We teach them the difference of sound between *bar* and *bare*, and then confront them with *are*! We make them distinguish *cone* from *con*, and then surprise them with such puzzles as *done* and *gone*! Worse than all this, we expect them to see the difference between *rove*, *move* and *love*! A few years after (but still years, sad to say,) they have to combat with *entice* and *notice*, *revive* and *motive*, *juvenile* and *fertile*, *vulpine* and *doctrine*, *erudite* and *favourite*. Again, we may ask, with Mr. Evans, "what does the final *e* tell our pupils about the character of the final vowel sound in *police*, *advice*, and *notice*? Or, in *prestige*, *oblige*, and *vestige*? Or, in *magazine*, *divine*, and *doctrine*? In *simile*, *apostrophe* and *hyperbole*, the final *e* has a sound of its own and leaves us to guess that of the preceding vowel. If it is said that these are of Greek origin, we answer 'our children are not born with' a knowledge of etymology, and the Greek origin cannot help them. And if these come from the Greek, so do *anatomy* and *euphony*, *apogee* and *perigee*. What again is the office of the final letter in *centre*, *accoutre*, and *metre*? Of course the choice has not yet been made between *meter* and *metre*, and yet *barometre* is considered intolerable!

We have said enough now to show that English spelling is not governed by rules, but is entirely capricious, inconsistent and false; that there is, in fact, as the Right Hon'ble Mr. Gladstone says, "a total absence of rule, method, system, and all the auxiliaries which people generally get when they have to acquire something that is difficult of attainment." We will take up this subject again in our second part with special reference to the difficulty of teaching spelling. But some declare that this very difficulty of learning to spell, the very complexities, in fact, the very eccentricities, are useful for mental discipline, and that they teach the pupils to believe rather than argue with their teachers. We ask such cavillers what mental exercise is afforded by such lessons as "*II-i-g-h* is *high*, but *h-i-g-h-t* is not *height*, *h e-i-g-h-t* is *height*"? It takes years for a child to reconcile himself to such eccentricities as *pity*, *piteous*, and *pitiful*. Is this mental discipline? The faculty of memory is overburdened, and the perception and reason

are left to take care of themselves. Does the inconsistency of spelling foster confidence in the teacher? We rather think that it engenders distrust, and destroys all confidence in self.

The present style of spelling, then, cannot be defended on any ground. The fact, therefore, that it is clung to, is to be accounted for only as the result of prejudice. The late Dr. Thirwall, the good and learned Bishop of St. David's, says, "I look upon the established system of spelling (if an accidental custom may be so called,) as a mass of anomalies, the growth of ignorance and chance, equally repugnant to good taste and common sense. But I am aware that the public cling to these anomalies with a tenacity proportioned to their absurdity, and are jealous of all encroachment on ground consecrated by prescription to the free-play of blind caprice." Since the great Bishop's death the reform of spelling has made great progress in England and America. The present spelling-reform movement began with Messrs. Alexander John Ellis and Isaac Pitman in 1842. These gentlemen together invented a set of letters containing a symbol for each simple spoken English sound. This alphabet has been continually undergoing variation and improvement, and it has now assumed a permanent shape, with definite and convenient characters for the italic and script forms as well. This system of reformed spelling is called Phonotypy, and consists of the Roman alphabet supplemented by thirteen new letters, seven for vowels and six for consonants. The five Roman vowel signs are retained for the short vowel sounds of *pat*, *pet*, *pit*, *pot*, and *put*, and the new signs, which are somewhat similar in form to the *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* of the Romans, represent the vowel sounds of *palm*, *page*, *peat*, *pall*, *pole*, *pool* and *pun*. The diphthongs are represented by constant digraphs suggestive of their elements, *ei*, *iu*, *ou*, *ai* and *oi* respectively standing for the diphthongs of *height*, *pew*, *pout*, *ay* and *point*. Of the Roman consonants, the redundant *c*, *q* and *x* are thrown aside, and the others are regularly used to mark severally the sound they ordinarily represent. Single characters are also substituted for the misleading *sh*, *ch*, *th*, and *ng*. The *th* of *thin* is distinguished from the *th* of *then*, and a convenient letter, the tailed *z* is used for the sound of *s* in *pleasure*. Phonotypy has the merit of perfect practicability as well as the utmost of scientific exactness that practicability will allow. It is not so scientifically accurate as Mr. Melville Bell's *visible speech*, which furnishes a sign, not only for every spoken English sound, but, for every sound which the human voice produces, or can produce, each sign by its very shape suggesting the position of the vocal organs by which the sound is generated. Such a system can be employed only by one who is thoroughly versed in the science of phonetics,

while it has been proved by experiment that a child of eight years can be taught to read Phonotypy fluently after a week's instant practice. It is sometimes argued that adults who have been accustomed to the established style of spelling would find a great difficulty in the change of systems, and that the wealth of literature now existing in the common orthography would be entirely lost. But experiments in the Portlaw schools in Ireland, and in many of the schools in America, prove that there is no transition so easy as the transition from phonotypy to the common spelling or from the common spelling to Phonotypy. Those who have been in the habit of using the old spelling for years find no difficulty in reading phonotypy, when once they know the phonetic values of the letters. We are not perfectly acquainted with the *pronunciation* of Chaucer and Langhorn and yet we read their works with ease after some careful study. How much easier, then, will be the reading of what we know to be in accordance with the pronunciation with which we are *familiar*. Those, again, who have been trained to read phonotypy find no difficulty in reading works printed in the old spelling. And there would thus be no necessity of reprinting or casting aside our present books. But all books of any worth must and do appear in new editions according to the demand for them. If such new editions are required by a generation trained in Phonotypy, the publishers will consult the taste of the age and issue the work in Phonotypy. The only real difficulty in the way of the immediate adoption of such a system is the printers difficulty in procuring new types. But this, of course, is only a *present* difficulty.

The superiority of Phonotypy to other proposed phonetic schemes will be seen from the fact that it has been adopted by the English Spelling-Reform Association, which was formed in 1879 for the purpose of taking some steps to bring about a reform of English spelling. A petition from *a hundred and thirty-seven* English School Boards had been presented to the Education Department by a deputation of eminent men, but it did not succeed in securing the authority of the department for the cause of spelling-reform. It was thereupon determined to form an Association to keep the matter before Government and the public. The Association is composed of all those interested in a reform of spelling, among whom are very nearly all the great philologists and educationists in England. The Rev. A. H. Sayce, Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology in Oxford, and author of several valuable philological works, was President for three years, and is now a Vice-President. The present President is Dr. J. H. Gladstone, Member of the

School Board for London. Among the Vice-Presidents are the Right Hon'ble J. Mundella, Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, the Hon'ble W. W. Hunter, L.L.D., C.I.E., Sir John Lubbock, M.P. for the London University, the Bishop of Exeter, the Poet Laureate, Professor Skeat, Dr. Murray, President of the English Philological Society, Dr. Morris and Professor Sweet, both ex-presidents of the Philological Society, and the great Doctors Abbot, Angus, Bain, Scott, and Taylor. The Association, after three years of careful examination and comparison, has selected Phonotypy as the most practical system of phonetic spelling. There has been another Association of spelling reformers (comprising no less than fifteen hundred persons) in existence since 1843, that is the Phonetic Society, of which Professor Max Müller is President, and Drs. Latham, Morris, and Murray, and Professors Sayce and Sweet are Vice-presidents.

A Spelling-Reform Association has existed for many years in America, and the great American philologists are to a man in favour of a spelling-reform. Of the learned Americans who have written in the cause of the reform, we may mention in particular, Professor March of Lafayette, Professors Whitney and Lounsbury of Yale, Professor Child of Harvard, and Professor Barnard of Columbia College. The Association and the American Philological Society decided on adopting for the present a partial reform of spelling, and accordingly published the five following rules which have met with the best reception and are already carried into practice by hundreds of newspapers and journals, and many thousands of private persons.

"1. Omit *a* from the digraph *ea* when pronounced as *e* short as in *héél*, *helth*, &c.

"2. Omit silent *e* after a short vowel, as in *hav*, *giv*, *liv*, *definite*, *forbad*, &c.

"3. Write *f* for *ph* in such words as *alfabet*, *fantom*, *camfor*, *filosofy*, *telegraf*, &c.

"4. When a word ends with a double letter, omit the last as in *shal*, *wil*, *clif*, *eg*, &c.

"5. Change *ed* final to *t* where it has the sound of *t* as in *lasht*, *imprest*, *fiat*," &c.

The English Philological Society has taken a similar step. At the last meeting of the Society, Mr. Sweet submitted by request a list of amended spellings for English words. This list embraces the ground of five American rules and goes considerably further. All letters that are useless, both phonetically and etymologically, are omitted from the spelling of words. The past tense of the verb is formed by adding *ed*,

only when the *ed* is a separate syllable (*i. e.*, after *t* and *d*, and in other cases for poetic rhythm); otherwise simple *t* or *d* is added accordingly to the sound. No letter is doubled unless there is a double sound, as in *immoral*, *illegal*; *ee* is substituted for *ie* and *ea* in words like *fief* and *cheat*, *oo* for *o* in *move*, &c., and the *i* disappears entirely from *friend*, the *o* from *country*, the *u* from *guest*, and the *ue* from *catalogue*. *Tongue* is written *tung*, and *dumb* and *doubt* lose their *b*. There are in all about seven hundred words that undergo more or less change. These corrections were discussed at six meetings of the Society before final presentation. They have only to be seen to be approved, and were almost unanimously adopted by the Society, *whose Transactions are henceforth to be printed in this reformed spelling.*

We have thus two good schemes of reformed spelling, one radical, the other partial, the first adopted by the Spelling Reform Association, the second by the Philological Society. Now, as we have seen, there exists a very great deal of prejudice on this subject, and we think that the public mind is not ready for so thorough a reform as the adoption of Phonotypy. As long as spelling is regarded by the great majority of educated people as something sacred and unchangeable, there is not much room for argument. What is immediately wanted is that the belief in the sanctity of spelling be dispelled. Let it once be acknowledged that a man may spell *psalm* without a *p* and *wrapped* with four letters instead of seven, and yet be neither a pitiable fool nor a scheming knave, and the death-blow of conservative spelling is struck. We would propose that the spelling of the Philological Society be used in printed works, and that the more correct Phonotypy be introduced into schools. Let the rising generation be taught to spell reasonably, and let the working men of the present day regret that they were reared under such disadvantages. "All true reforms have been gradual." And there can be no confusion caused by the two systems existing side by side for a time, for, as we have intimated, the resemblance between Phonotypy, and the common print is so great, that it is not difficult to pass from one to the other. Those of us who do not wish to take the trouble of writing Phonotypy (though the trouble would in reality be very little), need not do so at all. The system of the Philological Society is learnt in a few minutes, there being no new letters in it. But even this is not necessary. There will be only the temporary discomfort occasioned by the strange appearance of the printed page. But if the present spelling is radically incorrect (and that it is so, must be clear

to every thinking reader), some little inconvenience should not be objected to for the sake of getting rid of it. By the introduction of Phonotypy into schools, spelling and good reading will come almost naturally. All the time now wasted over spelling, reading, and dictation lessons can be devoted to fresh and more profitable subjects. Our children will love school when they find how interesting it is to hear the talk of their teacher about the wonders of the commonest objects. They will no longer be in constant fear of making a mistake at their reading. It is but too often that a lasting dislike has been taken to study on account of the harshness of teachers to little ones that cannot spell. The more logical the young mind is, the less of purely *mechanical* turn, the more will it rebel against English spelling.

Those of our readers who have followed us carefully will, we think, acknowledge that the present style of spelling is utterly mischievous. If this be their deliberate opinion, they should not fail to give it expression and carry it into practice even to a slight extent. He who drops the *e* from *live* in his ordinary correspondence, does much to bring about a reform.

G. S. GASPER.

ART. VI.—THE SANKHYA PHILOSOPHY.

THE Sankhya Philosophy and its counterpart, the Yoga, have lately been invested with a peculiar interest in the writings and Peripatetic discourses of the champions of Theosophy in India. The speculations formulated in the one, and developed in a series of practical rules of the most stringent type in the other, have been placed above the most improved science of the day; and results are anticipated, compared with which those by which the comforts and conveniences of life are being multiplied, are as trifles. It is proposed in this paper to show, by a careful analysis of the contents of one of the two original documents from which our knowledge of the Sankhya Philosophy is derived, how far the glowing eulogy bestowed upon it by Indian theosophists is well merited.

The founder of the Sankhya, the first of the six schools of Indian Philosophy, was Kapila, one of the great thinkers whose speculations in the region of pure thought have, not merely left an indelible mark in the literature of our country, but exercised a mighty influence on our national life. Nothing certain or reliable is known about this great man; and he must therefore be held up as a mythic, rather than a historical character. The traditions current about him are such as are manufactured, in an age of superstition, by what Grote calls the retrospective veneration of a few devoted followers, and accepted as invested with peculiar sacredness, if not as positively and indisputably unexceptionable, by the unthinking masses. He is said by some champions of his school to have been one of the seven great sons of Brahma, who cut a figure in the theogonies of the Puranas; while by others he is held up as an incarnation of Vishnu himself. Others, again, led by the etymology of the word Kapila, which means a *tawny brown color*, as well as *fire*, look up to him as the great Vedic god, Agni himself, in a human form. He is, moreover, said to have been a descendant of the celebrated Indian lawgiver, Manu, to have lived in retirement as a recluse, to have successfully controlled his appetites and passions, and to have been invested on that account with various kinds of supernatural powers. But if he is identified, as he has been, with the irascible sage in the *Ramayana*, who destroyed the sixty-thousand sons of King Sagara of Ayodhya (Oudh) in a fit of rage, consequent on their impudence in accusing him of the great crime of having stolen their father's sacrificial horse, the complete self-control he is said to have attained becomes problematical!

Various other stories are told about him of a piece with these ; and the best thing the enquirer can do is to be content with the bare fact, that Kapila was a Brahmin and the founder of the school of philosophy the speculations of which may be found as an underlying vein of thought in the most advanced of the systems elaborated in ancient India. Nor are we in possession of the writings of this great sage, the works ascribed to him, *viz.*, the *Sankhya-Pravachana*, or Sankhya-Aphorisms and the *Tattva Samasa*, or compendium of principles, being decidedly more modern. The former, translated by Dr. Ballantyne years ago, is not even mentioned by Sankara Acharya, the great Vedantist's Commentator, who lived in the latter part of the seventh and the earlier part of the eighth century ; and it is not even referred to in the *Sarna-Darsana-Sangraha*, a philosophical treatise evidently composed in the fourteenth century. The *Sankhya-Pravachana*, however, is a standard document of the Sankhya school ; and, in our attempts to expound the principles of the philosophy associated with this school, we cannot but give it a prominent place. We shall, therefore, present a synopsis of the contents of this work, before proceeding to our examination, in another paper, of those of a treatise, which is decidedly more ancient, *viz.*, the *Sankhya Karika*, or exposition of the Sankhya Philosophy, recently translated by Mr. Davies of the Royal Asiatic Society. Another treatise, also recently translated, we shall refer to, the treatise already named, the *Sarna-Darsana-Sangraha*, or Review of the different systems of Hindu Philosophy ; a work of very great importance which the student of our national philosophy will do well to master with a view to an intimate acquaintance with the lines of thought and reasoning embodied in it.

The *Sankhya-Pravachana* consists of six books and five hundred and twenty-six Sutras or Aphorisms. The first four books present the principles of Kapila's philosophy, without, it must be confessed, much regard to the advantage of a perspicuous or luminous arrangement, but with considerable acuteness and force. The fifth book grapples with and refutes some of the objections to his system current, if not in his age, at least in subsequent times ; and the sixth, being a recapitulation of the principles enunciated in the first four, bears to the whole the same relation, which the book of Deuteronomy bears to the Pentateuch. Several commentaries fitted to elucidate the contents of this hoary document, and demanded peremptorily by its studied brevity and sententiousness, exist ; and a recourse to them is absolutely needed to clear up its obscure passages and make its many legendary and other references intelligible. But great caution must be exercised in their use to avoid the common fault of transferring the

traditions and associations among which the commentators were brought up, to the age when the passages elucidated were penned. The best of these commentaries is *Sankhya-Pravachana Bhashya* by Vijnana-Bhikshu, who seems to have been an ardent admirer and a redoubtable champion of the system, at a time when it was attacked by certain phases of pantheistic and nihilistic thought, as well as by persons who derived their inspiration from prevalent forms of theistic belief. The Sankhya Aphorisms, together with valuable portions of this commentary, were translated into English by Dr. Ballantyne, whose accuracy as an interpreter or expounder of Hindu Philosophy has been generally acknowledged by Sanscrit scholars. These translations are to be utilized in the following synopsis of the contents of this memorable work.

The grand object of this philosophy is set forth in the very first of the five hundred and twenty-six Aphorisms of which the book consists :—" Well, the complete cessation of pain (which is) of three kinds, is the complete end (*summum-bonum*) of man." The three kinds of pain are particularized, not so much by the author of the book, as by his commentators. Pain " natural and intrinsic," or pain arising from bodily and mental infirmities, and weaknesses, is comprehended in the first class ; and that, " natural and extrinsic," or pain arising from such external causes as " cold, heat, wind, rain, thunderbolts " is included in the second class. The third class comprehends, according to the commentator Vachaspati Misra, pains proceeding from the influence of planetary bodies, or from the malice of impure spirits, such as Yackchas, Rakshases, &c. The subjection of the soul to this three-fold pain, or to pain in its three-fold aspect, is its bondage, and liberation from it should be, if it is not, the sole object of earthly and even heavenly existence. The object of Sankhya and every other system of Indian philosophy is to show how this consummation is to be brought about, or how the final emancipation of the soul from the bondage of pain in its three-fold aspect is to be effected.

The diagnosis of a disease is the first step towards its cure ; and, therefore, an attempt is made to set forth the cause of this universal bondage, before the sources of emancipation are pointed out. The disquisition on this cause is worthy of a detailed notice, inasmuch as it points to the varied antagonistic forces with which the system had to contend in its advanced, if not in its incipient stages of development.

The great Napoleon developed a principle of universal applicability, when, immediately after his coronation, he said :—" A new dynasty must be baptized with blood." A new school

of philosophy, as well as a new Empire or a new dynasty, has to pass through a season of almost ceaseless struggle for life ; and it is not established till it has proved its right to live according to a law now said to be universally operative, the law of the survival of the fittest. And it cannot but be very interesting to notice the phalanx of antagonistic forces, through which it has, in its inception and development, to force its way to maturity, renown, and far extending and triumphant influence, if not to universal ascendancy. But this cannot be done in the case of the system of philosophy under review, inasmuch as we are not in possession of documents fitted to throw light on its early development. But we can indicate the varied hostile theories with which it had to contend when the *Sankhya-Pravachana* was composed.

What, then, is the cause of the universally admitted bondage of the soul, or its subjection to the varied kinds of pain, the complete cessation of which is the object of philosophy or right knowledge ? Various parties come forward with varied answers, which are plausible enough at first sight, but which, when properly weighed in the balance of reason, are found wanting. The ordinary thinker, or one not far advanced in philosophy, comes forward and points to *time* and *place* as the cause, jointly and separately, of the bondage of the soul. But his theory is very easily exploded, as, both *time* and *place* being associated with all souls, those which are in bondage and those which are beatified, if they were the obnoxious cause, release or liberation would be an impossibility. But liberation is a fact, and souls released exist free from all pain, and beatified. *Time* and *place*, therefore, cannot be the cause we are in quest of. The metaphysician steps forward, and affirms that the bondage of the soul arises from its being conditioned and therefore necessarily defective. The reply to this is plain. The premises are incorrect, and therefore the conclusion is faulty. The soul is absolute and unconditioned ; a position established both by Scripture and common sense. But this reply elicits the rejoinder :—" If the soul is absolute and unconditioned, why talk of its bondage and subsequent liberation ? " It is not at all difficult to dispose of this demurrer. Forms of expression, conventional, though not scientifically accurate, cannot be very well avoided. When the bondage of the soul and its liberation are talked of, the real meaning is not hidden, though some homage is paid to usage. The body is really in pain, the soul's bondage is only reflectional, as the red color in a crystal vase containing a China rose.

The metaphysician retires, giving place to the priest or the champion of current orthodoxy, who holds up works as the cause of the bondage of the soul. But works cannot weave a net for that

to which they do not appertain. Works belong to the mind, and their influence, good or bad, does not and cannot extend to the soul, to which they do not, in the slightest degree, appertain. The Vedantin, or the pantheist of the Vedantic school, then comes forward, and with an air of triumph insists upon Avidya, or ignorance, as the cause of this bondage. But ignorance, look upon it as you will, or from whatever standpoint it may please you to do so, cannot cause bondage. Ignorance, according to the Vedantins, is unreal; and that which is merely a phantom cannot be the cause of that which, like bondage, is a reality. If, however, it is affirmed that ignorance is real, and not phantom-like, the very foundation of monism, or exclusive belief in, or affirmation of, one entity, is shaken. But suppose ignorance is represented as both real and unreal, what then? Such a reconciliation of opposites, such a naked paradox, is almost unthinkable, and cannot be accepted by any but "children and madmen." Such a thing, moreover, which at one and the same time is both real and unreal, is not included in the six all-embracing categories of the Vaiseshikas, *viz.*, substance, quality, action, generality, particularity and inherence. How, then can its existence be admitted?

The idealist then advances, and affirms that, as nothing but thought exists, bondage is unreal and dreamy. But here, again, the premises are not correct. Our intuition of the external world proves its reality as decidedly as our intuitive knowledge of thought proves its reality. If intuition is to be set aside as fallacious or unreliable in the one case, it ought to be cast overboard in the other also. The believer in momentary existences, or he who believes that existence, instead of being a continuous, connected chain, consists of distinct and separate parts, each leaping into momentary existence only to be replaced immediately by its successor, steps forward or walks into the arena with his theory, which, but for the fact that nothing is too absurd in the region of metaphysics or speculative science, might be looked upon as too odd to be entertained by sensible men even for a moment. He affirms that the bondage of the soul is occasioned by the influence of external objects of momentary duration. He, however, does not clearly see that external objects, being locally separate from the soul, cannot weave a net of bondage for it, and that things ephemeral, which make their appearance one after another, only to die, cannot have a permanent effect, as the bondage of the soul confessedly is. And the last gentleman whose opinions are weighed and found wanting, is the nihilist, who maintains that, as nothing exists but an eternal and unutterable void, bondage is suppositious,

a myth or a non-entity. This gentleman has directed against him the very weapons by which his brother champion the idealist is chased out of the arena.

Some of these opponents are regarded as brethren with mistaken notions, but the opprobrious epithet of heretic is applied to the rest, especially to those who uphold nihilism in one form or another.

The varied theories of the bondage of the soul which Kapila's system had to combat and overcome, indicate the forms of thought and belief, current in what might emphatically be called the Age of Indian Philosophy, and in times immediately subsequent to it. There was the tendency to reduce all forms of existence to space and time, or to merge the sensuous objects of nature into the suprasensuous forms of thought. There were the theories of the absolute and the relative, the unconditioned and the conditioned, propounded, matured, held as life, and fought for; as well as forms of thought arising from current superstition. There was, moreover, the transcendental type of monism, which, originating in pure Vedantic times, was being gradually fitted, by an inflexible and uncompromising logic, for that ascendancy which it has enjoyed in our country for ages untold. There was idealism ready to affirm the existence of nothing but pure thought, side by side with nihilism proclaiming an interminable and absolute void under diversified forms of fictitious and deceptive existence. And finally there was the strange and paradoxical theory of an endless chain of unconnected existences, an infinite concatenation of finite links without anything like an interdependence or correlation of parts. Do not our modern philosophers find some of their most favourite whims anticipated in these forms of thought.

It is desirable to state here, that Kapila's system, though thrown into the shade by the ascendant star of Vedantism, has maintained its influence, in spite of these forms of thought, so far as to give rise to the saying, quoted by Monier Williams in his excellent treatise, "*Indian Wisdom*," *viz.*, "there is no knowledge like Sankhya and no power like Yoga." Let it not, moreover, be forgotten that the ascendancy of the Vedanta has been secured and maintained by an assimilative process; that is, in consequence of its adoption and assimilation to itself, of some of the characteristic ideas of the Sankhya philosophy. The Sankhya philosophy would exist in Vedantism in a noticeable form even if its existence as a separate system were utterly extinguished, or thrown beyond the confines of possibility.

The question must once more be raised:—"What is the cause of the universally admitted bondage of the soul?" Two

Aphorisms in Book I are calculated to bring us to the conclusion arrived at by the commentator, Nijvana Blikshu, who lived and flourished about three hundred years ago, *viz.*, that "the immediate cause of the bondage of the soul is the conjunction of Prakriti and of the soul." But the commentator is of course aware, as all students of Sankhya philosophy are, that the real cause lies beyond this conjunction, which, as Prakriti and soul are both pervasive, and fitted to attract each other by inherent laws, is inevitable, and from which, therefore, there is no exemption even for beatified souls. The true cause of the bondage of the soul is "non-discrimination." The soul is really different from Prakriti and its products, *viz.*, intelligence, egoism, mind, &c.; but it is led by non-discrimination to identify itself with them. Hence its bondage!

But the problem is not solved here. Another question arises. If the earth stands upon the elephant, what does the elephant stand upon? If non-discrimination is the cause of the bondage of the soul, what is the cause of non-discrimination? Some persons may be prone to maintain that merit or demerit is the cause of non-discrimination. But merit or demerit, desert, good or bad, springs from non-discrimination; and therefore we must merit one non-discrimination to explain another; and there will in consequence be a *regressus- ad-infinitem*. But suppose we have recourse to the theory of spontaneity, and affirm that non-discrimination comes naturally and spontaneously into being, will not such a hypothesis be enough? No; for in that case there can be no guarantee that liberated souls shall be freed from its molestation. Non-discrimination is really "beginningless." But that which is beginningless is really everlasting or endless and therefore the emancipation of the soul, consequent on the annihilation of non-discrimination, is an impossibility. It is not, however, beginningless, indivisible and endless in the sense in which the soul is; but it is beginningless "like an outflow (which may be stopped)." Nor is this to be wondered at, considering the fact, that the beginningless, antecedent non-entity of a jar terminates as soon as it is made. Non-discrimination, though without beginning, is happily annihilable; and the question how it may be annihilated—is properly speaking, the burden of the book under review.

But before pointing out the means prescribed for bringing about this happy consummation, the annihilation of non-discrimination and the liberation of the soul under its bondage, let us ascertain what is said in these Aphorisms about the soul, and what about Prakriti, or, in other words, let us look into the psychology and physiology of this ancient document.

Let us, in the first place, group a number of its declarations about the soul (Purnah):—

“But not without the conjunction thereof (*i. e.*, of Prakriti) is there the connection of that (*i. e.*, of pain) with that (*viz.*, the soul), which is now essentially a pure and free intelligence”—(Book I, Aph. 19.)

“Because this is impossible for what is inactive (or, in other words, without motion, as the soul is, because all pervading, and therefore incapable of changing its place)”—(Book I, Aph. 49).

“Soul is something else than body, &c. Because that which is combined (and is therefore discernible) is for the sake of some other (not-discernible)”—(Book I, Aph. 139-140).

“And (the soul is not material) because of its superintendence (over Prakriti). And (the soul is not material) because of its being an experience”—(Book I Aph 142-143).

“From the several allotment of births, a multiplicity of souls (is to be inferred)—”(Book I, Aph. 149)

“It (soul) is altogether free, (but seemingly) multiform (or different in appearance from a free thing) through a delusive resemblance of being bound. It (soul) is a witness through its sense-organs (which quit it on liberation). The nature of soul is constant freedom. And finally (the nature of the soul is) indifference (to pain and pleasure alike). Its (soul's) fancy of being an agent is from the proximity of intelligence”—(Book I Aph. 160-164).

“It cannot be of its own nature, (that is to say) meditation cannot belong to soul essentially, because of the immobility of the soul”—(Book II, Aph. 44.)

“Bondage and liberation do not belong naturally to soul (and would not even appear to be), but for non-discrimination”—(Book III, Aph. 71.)

“Soul is, for there is no proof that it is not. This (soul) is different from the body, &c. because of heterogeneity (or complete difference between the two)”—(Book VI, Aph. 102).

The plurality of soul is proved by the distribution (announced by the Veda itself in such texts as whose understand this, these are immortal, while others experience sorrow.”—(Book V. Aph. 45.)

These texts are fitted to prove that, according to the Sankhya system, souls are multitudinous, immaterial, uncompounded, undiscernible, all-pervading, immobile, and inactive. They are uncreate, and essentially intelligence and freedom. They superintend or guide the evolutions of Prakriti, and experience pleasure and pain, but in a unique sense.

As regards the origin of souls, the theory of creationism can not but be discarded in a system which is essentially atheistic,

and which at the same time cannot homologate so incongruous an idea as that of a pure spirit emanating from impure matter or from non-entity. Its great principle, *ex nihilo nihil fit*, is emphatically stated in Aphorism 78 of the very first Book :—"A thing is not made out of nothing (that is to say, it is not possible that out of nothing—*i. e.*, out of a non-entity—a thing should be made, *i. e.*, an entity should arise."

The theory of what in theological parlance or phraseology is called traducianism, or that of souls propagating souls by the laws of generation, is also repulsive to a system which looks upon the absence of all desire, and all activity, voluntary if not automatic, as essential to their perfect freedom from misery. And, therefore, the remaining theory of the pre-existence of souls, maintained by so many philosophers of so many different schools in ancient times, and in the church by no less a man than Origen, is the only theory that can be propounded in consistency with the principles of the Sankhya School. Souls are, therefore, represented as increate; but it is to be observed that the glory of being so does not belong to them exclusively.

Again they are said to be multitudinous, or rather innumerable, to avoid another difficulty. The object of creation or rather evolution being to effect the liberation of souls from the power or influence of non-discrimination, these must be numerous or innumerable to prevent the premature collapse or cessation of omnific work. The greater the number of souls, the longer is the process which first enslaves them one after another, and then effects their liberation singly, not *en masse*. The idea of the diffusiveness of souls is but a corollary deducible from their numerousness. It ought not to be forgotten that the Hindu philosopher, like his brother philosophers of other ancient schools, had at best but gross ideas of spiritual substances, and was therefore prone to confound them with material substances of a tenuous nature, such as ether, &c. Souls could not therefore be, according to him, multitudinous without being all diffusive and all pervasive. But is not each soul in itself, or apart from the congeries or mass of souls, diffusive and pervasive? To some extent it is; but perhaps not all-diffusive and all-pervasive; though all that is said of souls and Prakriti may lead one to the conclusion that they overlap and interpenetrate one another, and are, moreover, overlapped and interpenetrated by Prakriti. The predications with reference either to the soul or Prakriti are by no means marked by perfect consistency and harmony.

Activity, as has already been indicated, can on no account be attributed to souls, it being invariably associated with pain and

misery through desire and aversion. Souls, therefore, are passionless and perfectly quiescent. But intelligence is certainly ascribed to souls ;—they are said to be intelligence itself. It may be said that intelligence and perfect quiescence can not co-exist ; and that, souls being subjects of knowledge, they must pass through various states of consciousness, such as sensations, intellections, emotions and volitions ; especially as omniscience, implying unchangeable thought and feeling, is not ascribed to them. But intelligence in this case, as in that of the Supreme Spirit of the Upanishads, is tantamount to non-intelligence, inasmuch as it makes or implies no distinction between self and not-self, subject and object. The Hindu philosopher is prone to look upon the pure spirit as a material entity of extreme tenuity ; and he speaks of its intelligence, as he speaks of the color of a coloured substance, as a material attribute, inherent rather than accidental. According to him, the intelligence of the soul is its golden color, its transparency, its luminousness. Its inherence in the soul can no more be the cause of intellectual, emotional and volitional activity, than the color of a colored substance, say the rosy hue of a rose, can be the cause of any display of activity on its part. Nor must it be forgotten, that intelligence in the proper sense of the term, is, according to this system, a product of Prakriti, the root-principle of nature, not an attribute or predicate of the soul.

The soul's essence is not merely intelligence but freedom. Then why talk of its bondage, a thing which, as contradictory to its nature, cannot exist in it without annihilating it. Here the Sankhya philosopher seems to falter for a moment, but gets rid of the difficulty with an ingenuity which may be commended. The soul's bondage is reflectional, not real. Its proximate cause is contact with Prakriti, the root-principle of nature, called the *Amulam mulam*, the rootless root, or, in modern phraseology, the cause uncaused. This principle attracts the soul, just as loadstone attracts iron ; or it is attracted by the soul which is represented as thoroughly immobile.

In this description, however, our philosopher loses the balance of his logic, and gets entangled between the horns of a dilemma. If he maintains that the soul is attracted by Prakriti into juxtaposition with itself, the doctrine of its immobility is neutralized ; while if the conjunction of the two is attributed to the attractive power of the soul, its complete passivity or quiescence is made problematical. The Sankhya philosopher gets out of the horns by ascribing to the soul some kind of automatic influence or attractive power. Voluntary activity is most emphatically thrown out of the circle of the soul's predicates ; but some irresistible influence

or virtue emanates from it, in the same manner in which some mysterious influence is exerted automatically by the load-stone over a piece of iron. But our philosopher does not see that there is absolutely no necessity of his positing an attractive force either in the soul or in Prakriti to account for their conjunction. Both the substances are in his opinion all-pervasive ; and therefore their conjunction is inevitable. But here a fresh difficulty of an appalling nature makes its appearance. If Prakriti and souls are so universally diffusive that their union, or rather interpenetration, is inevitable, why are not souls simultaneously brought into bondage, and where are the beatified souls lodged ?

Leaving this difficulty unremoved, as the Sankhya philosopher leaves it, let us advert to the lamentable fruits of the inevitable contact of souls with Prakriti. From it proceed all the troubles of the mind (*manas*), which is a product of Prakriti, and therefore no portion of the soul ; and its sufferings are only reflected in the luminous and quiescent soul, and in this reflection consists its fictitious bondage. The soul is, therefore, in a very loose sense called an experiencer ; and all that can properly be predicated of it is, that the ephemeral pleasures and pains brought upon the mind by its own malignant activity are reflected in its tranquil substance. In a sense still looser, as we shall see, the soul is called the ruler of Prakriti, and the witness and regulator of its evolutions.

But does not the Sankhya philosopher assume the reality of the bondage of the soul in his argument with the Vedanta and other philosophers of the phenomenal school ? But by the bondage of the soul he means in reality the bondage of the mind, but as the mind is only a material evolute, its bondage can not be real, at least, in a spiritual sense. This is one of the glaring inconsistencies into which our philosopher is betrayed in spite of his logical acumen and philosophic penetration.

The existence of a soul distinct or different from the innumerable souls posited by Sankhya philosophy, bearing relation to them as that which the creator bears to the creature, or the ruler to the subject, or the benefactor to the dependent, or even the superior to the inferior, is pre-emptorily denied. But is something like realism maintained in the Aphorisms ascribed to Kapila, such as may justify our looking upon multitudinous souls as modifications of one primal soul, their generic head ? Such an idea is not discoverable in them, though it might have been, and perhaps was, originated in his school in subsequent times. The idea appears in Nijnana Bhikshu's commentary, in a connexion, however, which makes it difficult to ascertain whether the primal soul spoken of is the generic soul, the pattern and exemplar of all, or whether it

is nothing less than the pervasive, all-embracing spirit of God Himself.

In the Sankhya Aphorisms are posited two, and only two, entities, souls which are neither evolutes nor evolvent, and *Prakriti*, the evolvent root-principle of nature, and therefore not an evolute. Is there not a third entity spoken of as eternal, in the sense of having existed throughout past eternity, but not everlasting in the sense of being inherently fitted to exist throughout future eternity? Is not non-discrimination represented as having existed throughout past eternity, though terminable, or rather destined to pass into non-existence and continue therein for an almost incalculable cycle of ages? Is non-discrimination real or non-real? If real, the dualism assumed vanishes into thin air, or gives place to triadism. If unreal, how can it hold in bondage realities like living souls? Are we to look upon it as the Vedantins look upon their ignorance, or Nescience, or *Maya*, as both real and unreal? But such contraries cannot meet in an entity; such union in one substance is unthinkable. The very argument which the Sankhya philosopher sets in battle array against the Vedantic notion of the soul being held in bondage by ignorance, may be marshalled in all its entirety against his favorite non-discrimination. But this he does not pause to consider.

Now let us see what the Aphorisms say of the second entity, *Prakriti*, the self-evolvent principle, to which creation, or existence, in all its protens-like forms, is to be traced, as well as the temporary bondage and ultimate emancipation of souls. The word *Prakriti*, we may mention by the way, has been, as a rule, translated 'nature,' but by no means with accuracy. It may be rendered, in deference to the scientific phraseology of the day, 'the primordial form'; but the better word is 'the self-evolving principle, the root of nature, called *Anuṣṭhāna mūlaṃ*, the rootless root.'

The passages to be extracted in illustration of the nature of *Prakriti* are these:—

"*Prakriti* is the state of equipoise of goodness (*Sattva*), passion (*rajas*), and darkness (*tamas*)."—(Book I., Aph. 61).

"Since the root has no root, the root (of all) is rootless (that is to say, there is no other cause of *Prakriti*, because there would be a *regressus ad infinitum*, if we were to suppose another cause, which by parity of reasoning, would require another cause, and so on, without end). Even if there be a succession, there is a halt at some one point, and so it is merely a name (that we give to the points in question) when we speak of the root of things under the name of *Prakriti*. Alike in respect of *Prakriti* and of both (Soul and *Prakriti*, is the argument for the uncreated existence).—(Book I., Aph. 67-69).

"Her (*Prakriti's*) imperceptibility arises from her subtlety. (*Prakriti*) exists because her existence is gathered from beholding of productions (which have these qualities.)"—(Book I., Aph. 109-110).

Though she be unintelligent, yet *Prakriti* acts—as is the case with milk (that is to say, as milk, without reference to man's efforts, quite of itself changes into the form of curd). Or, as is the case with acts (or on-goings), for we see them, of time, &c. (the spontaneous action of *Prakriti* is proved from what is seen). The action of time, for instance, takes place quite spontaneously in the shape of one season's now departing and another's coming on:—let the behaviour of *Prakriti* also be thus,—for the supposition conforms to observed facts. But still a senseless *Prakriti* would never energize, or would energize in a wrong way, less because of there being (in her case) no such communing as, "This is my means of producing experience," &c. To this he replies,—From her own nature she acts, not from thought—just as a servant (that is to say, as in the case of an excellent servant, naturally, merely from habit, the appointed and necessary service of the master is engaged in, and not with a view to his own enjoyment, just so does *Prakriti* energize from habit alone). Or, from attraction by deserts which have been from eternity.—(Book III., Aph. 59-63.)

Here we bring our string of quotations, from the text—as well as from the commentary—to a close, and emphasize the points made. *Prakriti* is eternal, imperceptible, indiscrete, unintelligent, and ever active, except when in a state of equipoise. It resembles the soul in eternal duration, imperceptibility, and undiscernibility, but differs from it in activity or energy of self-evolution, not in its want of intelligence, as the intelligence of the soul, being destitute of the elements of self-consciousness and world-consciousness, is equivalent to non-intelligence.

Here a couple of questions ought to be raised and disposed of.

The first is—If *Prakriti* is imperceptible, how are we to be sure of its existence? To be able to answer this question, it is necessary to look into the laws of evidence which are recognized in the Sankhya School. The champions of this school admit only three kinds of proof, viz, perception (*Pratyaksha*), inference (*Anuman*), and testimony (*Sahda*); and they discard comparison (*upamana*), which the Logical schools add to the list, as well as the two others admitted in the Vedic schools. The objects of the external world make their existence known to us through the medium of perception, or the

impressions made upon the senses by them. But they are, each of them, discerptible, and consequently destructible. Their discerptibility, or divisibility, proves that they are not eternal, and that, therefore, they cannot be the ground of their own existence. The law of inference leads the mind to look for the cause of their existence or manifestation apart from them; and the ultimate ground at which we arrive, when we trace the different lines of causation to their converging points, is *Prakriti*. Its existence, therefore, is proved by inference based on perception.

Again it is plain that these objects, evolved from *Prakriti*, do not exist for themselves. Or, in other words, *Prakriti* does not evolve for its own advantage. With its varieties of evolutes, it exists for something else, as "axes for cutting," or "houses" for the benefit of those who dwell in them. For whom, or for what does *Prakriti* evolve, or do the evolutes of *Prakriti* exist? For souls, certainly. The laws of inference, then, not merely establish the existence of *Prakriti*, but that of souls also. And as *Prakriti*, like the soul, is indiscerptible, it is uncreate and eternal. In this piece of reasoning the doctrine of final causes is recognized as in the preceding are the doctrines of efficient and material causes.

Now comes the second question :—How can *Prakriti* be called discerptible, seeing that it consists of the three qualities (*gunas*), goodness passion, and darkness, held in equipoise?

What are these *gunas* or qualities? Are they elementary substances of extreme tenuity, or are they mere predicates or attributes of substances? If they are qualities or attributes, in the ordinary sense of the term, of substances, their inherence in *Prakriti* does not militate against its indiscerptibility. If, however, they are elementary substances, their union in *Prakriti* establishes its complex nature and its consequent discerptibility. Their nature should, therefore, be thoroughly looked into before the claim of indiscerptibility advanced in favor of *Prakriti* can be adjudicated upon.

The word *guna*, generally translated "quality," means a cord, and the three *gunas* of the Sankhya School are the three cords by which the soul, or rather *Prakriti* itself, is fettered. They are *sattma*, *rajas* and *tamas*. The word *Sattma* means purity and goodness; and the *Sattma* *guna* is that which enlightens, soothes, purifies, causes virtue, and communicates pleasure and happiness. It prevails in ethereal regions, and causes the enlightenment, happiness and joy, characteristic of those seats of purity and goodness. In the world it predominates in fire, and that is the reason why flame tapers towards the sky, and sparks fly upwards. When it abounds

in man, he becomes virtuous and happy ; and to its preponderance must be ascribed the acknowledged happiness of superior orders of beings, such as Prajapatis, Indras, Pitris, Gaudhavas, Gods and Demigods. The word *rajas* means passion, energy and activity ; and the characteristics of the *rajas-guna* are variability, activity, vehemence and restlessness. It is accompanied by vice and misery, and when it prevails in man, he becomes a child of error and wretchedness. It abounds in the atmosphere, and accounts for its fitful and erratic movements. And lastly, the word *Tamas* means stolidity and darkness ; and the *tamas-guna* is that which produces sorrow, dulness, stupidity and inaction. It predominates in earth and water, and accounts for their downward tendency ; and when it abounds in man, it makes him sorrowful, stupid, lazy and immobile.

The three qualities abound respectively in upper, mundane and nether creations. "Aloft (above the world of mortals) it (the creation) abounds in (the quality of) purity. Beneath (that is to say under the world of mortals) (the creation) abounds in darkness. In this midst, (that is in the world of mortals) (the creation) abounds in passion." (Book III, Aph. 48-50.)

But it is to be observed that they are, as a rule, if not invariably, found mixed in varied proportions never almost dissevered or separated from one another. In the highest ethereal regions, as in superior orders of beings and the very best of men, purity abounds ; but it is not altogether dissociated from its troublesome companions, inasmuch as these exist, albeit in very small proportions, along with it. And in the lowest infernal regions, as in demons and evil spirits, as well as the worst of men, some degree of purity, however inconsiderable, is found in conjunction with the preponderant passion and darkness. This fact explains or shows the distinction there is between these qualities, or rather material attributes, and the substances in which they are found mixed in varied proportions. They are almost inseparable in reality, though separable in thought. They are a material trinity in unity, and unity in trinity. They are held in equipoise only in *Prakriti* in its quiescent state, and their union in it in equal proportions cannot militate against the theory of its eternity and indescribability. They are moreover, ubiquitous, existing in all the productions or modifications of *Prakriti*, in all the regions of space, in endlessly varied proportions. And they are, in their joint capacity, as well as singly, an evil ; they being the cause of that bondage of the mind which is reflected in the soul, and from the reflection of which it has to be liberated.

Prakriti, in its Trinitarian essence, is the great omnific principle,

and it energises spontaneously, as milk coagulates into curd when let alone. Though destitute of intelligence, and acting from a simple automatic impulse, it never errs, as "an excellent servant" anticipates and obeys the commands of his master "from habit." The order of creation is presented in Aph. 61 of Book I:—From *Prakriti* (proceeds) intelligence (*Buddhi*), from intelligence egoizer, or I-maker (*Ahankara*), from egoizer the fine, subtle elements (*Tanmatras*), and both sets (internal and external) of organs (*Indriya*) and from the subtle elements the gross elements (*Sthul bhuta*)." Intelligence, the first product, or evolute, of self evolving *Prakriti*, is called great (*Mahat*), because it is a principle of "superlative purity," and occupies in creation the same place which the Prime Minister occupies in a well organized government. It gives birth to egoizer, which is the cause of the distinction we make between self and not-self, a distinction fictitious rather than real, and one which proves to us a source of vexation and trouble. Then come the fine, tenuous elements, imperceptible to man, but perceptible to superior beings, or even to man when his natural powers are indefinitely enlarged by meditation, *viz.*, sound, touch, color, taste or sapidity, and smell. These seven principles are evolutes of *Prakriti*, and evolvent; and to their omnific activity, or prolific energy, creation in its multifarious aspects is to be traced. Then there are sixteen other principles, which are evolutes or productions, not evolvents or producers, *viz.*, the five gross elements, earth, fire, water, air, ether; the five organs of knowledge (*gyan-indriyani*) the eye, the ear the nose, the tongue, the skin; the five organs of action (*Karma indriyani*) the hands, the feet, the larynx or the organ of speech, the orifice and the generative organ; and the mind (*manas*) called the eleventh organ, the real cause of the bondage under which it itself groans, and from the reflection of which the soul has to be freed.

The existence of these twenty four *tattmas*, or categories, is proved by perception and inference, which last is a process of demonstration rising from what is perceptible to what is imperceptible. For instance, the gross elements, earth, fire, water, air, are perceptible to mortals; and their existence is proved by the simple testimony of the senses. But they do not explain their own existence; and therefore we are led by the laws of reasoning to the tenuous principles, the subtle rudiments from which they proceed, and by which their existence is accounted for. But these subtle elements, imperceptible to men in general, though perceptible to superior beings, or even men endowed with powers of perception keener and more

expanded than human beings ordinarily possess, are only modifications of the I-maker, which again is a modification of intelligence, the first-born of Prakriti increate. Again, the mind, the eleventh organ, is another modification of the I-maker, and its existence is proved by that of the perceptible organs of knowledge and action.

The existence of the twenty-fifth category, the soul, which is neither an evolute nor an evolvent, is proved by the creative energy of Prakriti, which energizes, not for its own advantage, but for that of an entity apart from itself. This is emphatically stated in such verses as these :—"From Brahma down to a post for its (soul's) sake is creation till there be discrimination (between soul and Prakriti) on which its liberation ensues." "Prakriti's creation is for the sake of another, though it be spontaneous, for she is not the experiencer, just like a cart's carrying saffron for the sake of its master."

But why not carry the arguments from inference a step further, and recognize a Lord (Iswara behind the veiled) manifestations of *Prakriti*, as the ultimate ground of existence? There are insuperable obstacles in the way. A Lord cannot possibly be the creator of the universe. If he exists, he must either be free or bound. If free, he cannot have a desire to create prevalent enough to determine his will, or lead to volition and action. It is an established maxim of Hindu philosophy, that a desire leading irresistibly to action, good or bad, is bondage. Such a desire on the part of God cannot but militate against his assumed freedom. If, however, he is bound, how could he possibly create? The supposition, therefore, of a Lord behind the veil of shifting phenomena, is both irrational and useless.

How thoroughly the atheistic speculations of our vaunted age of progress were anticipated in times which may be called pre-historic, in India and other countries! The scientists and philosophers of the day now and then betray a little meekness, to which their prototypes of ancient times were utter strangers. Given matter and the laws immanent in it, they have no difficulty whatever in explaining the wonders of creation, or solving the knotty problems of existence. But they manifest a little hesitation when they have to settle the question :—"How came matter to be, and how and by whom were its laws impressed upon it?" Their hesitation, however, is momentary, as they shake it off by assuming the eternity of matter, and the eternal inherence of its laws, as well as by upholding the principle, *ex nihilo nihil fit*. But our redoubtable philosophers of ancient times presented a braver front, and did not hesitate for a moment in affirming with oracular assurance the eternity of matter;

and their dictum, as has already been said runs thus:—"A thing is not made out of nothing." And even when they admitted the existence of a God, their principle, that an impure thing, such as matter in this opinion is, cannot possibly emanate from, or be created by, a pure Being, made it impossible for them to represent such a Being as its Creator. God or no God, matter, according to their teaching, is eternal, along with the laws inherent in it.

But the way in which our philosophers dispose of the argument based on testimony, which is one of the three kinds of proof admitted in his school, is worthy of consideration. By testimony they understand, not only what is ordinarily included in that term, but a great deal more, even the teachings of revelation, and those of devotees and adepts, who by virtue of intense meditation have obtained, and may obtain, the power of recalling to their minds the varied events which occurred to them in several, if not all, of their past lives, and that of discovering and bringing to light occult truths, or truths hidden among the arcana of nature. But revelation distinctly affirms the existence of a Lord. How is this to be accounted for? Is revelation to be discarded as a tissue of Old Men's Fables? Our time-serving philosophers did not allow themselves to be ostensibly carried thus far by their scepticism. They got rid of the difficulty by resorting to orbits of shuffling criticism, not unknown to modern sceptics. ("The scriptural texts which make mention of 'the Lord' are) either glorifications of the liberated souls or homages to the recognized (deities of the Hindu Pantheon)." And, besides, "There is scripture for this (world's) being the production of Prakriti (not of a Lord)."

It may be mentioned here that, even when Hindu philosophy allows the existence of a god, it makes him so quiescent and inactive, that creation cannot possibly be attributed to him. We cannot ascribe creation to him without making him subject to passion, the second of the three qualities from which he must be free, and, therefore, representing him as actually held in bondage. Nor can he be the governor of the universe without being "selfish" and "liable to grief." In Book V. we have these Aphorisms:—

Ahp. 3—" (If a Lord were governor, then) having intended his own benefit, his government (would be selfish) as is the case (with ordinary governors) in the world."

("He must then be) just like a worldly lord (and) otherwise (than you desire that we should conceive of him, ; for if we agree that the lord is also benefited, he also must be something

mundane,—just like a worldly lord—because, since his desires are (on that supposition) not (previously) satisfied, he must be liable to grief.” And besides the supposition of a lord is useless. He cannot create, cannot govern, cannot judge, cannot reward or punish—the last prerogative, *viz.*, that of bestowing rewards and inflicting punishments being a prerogative of works, not of God. In Aph 2 of this Book, we have these words :—“Not from its (the world’s) being governed by the Lord, is there the effectuation of the fruit, for it is by works (that is by merit and demerit) that this is accomplished—(by works alone which are indispensable,—and if we do make the additional and cumbrous supposition of a lord, he cannot reward a man otherwise than according to his works.”

If there is no Lord, the question arises, why believe in a revelation at all? The proper answer to this question brings forward a theory, which in absurdity has not its parallel even in the history of wild speculation. The Sankhya philosopher does not hold, like the Mimamsakas and the Vedantins, the eternity of the Vedas. The forty-fifth Aphorism of the Fifth Book of the work under review runs thus :—“The Veda is not from eternity, for there is scripture for its being a production.” If not eternal, it must have been written either by God or by some gifted man. It could not possibly have been written, or vouchsafed through verbal communication, or in any other way, by God, for the Sankhya philosophy does not recognize his existence. Nor could it have been written by a gifted man, such a man must be either liberated or in bondage. If liberated, he could not have a prevailing desire leading to its composition; and if in bondage, he could not but have lacked “the power” needed to bring about so glorious a result.

The Vedas, therefore, could not have proceeded either from God or from man, nor are they eternal. How then is the mystery involved in their existence to be unravelled? Here is the explanation :—“The Vedas, just like an expiration, proceed of themselves from the self-existent, through the force of fate, unperceived by thought.” To explain this statement of the commentator, Nijana Blikshu, two questions have to be raised. Who is the self-existent from whom the Vedas are said to have emanated as an expiration? The self-existent must either be Prakriti itself, or some evolute of Prakriti, there being nothing knowable or within the reach of proof behind it, and the soul being incapable of sending these venerated books out even as an efflation. The Sankhya philosophers speak of an emergent deity, whom they call Brahma, when he creates, Vishnu when he preserves, and Siva or Mahadeva when

he destroys. This emergent deity is the first evolute of Prakriti, intelligence, called Mahat, the Great One, not, however, personal intelligence, but something like general intelligence, the intelligence of which personal intelligence, mine or thine, is only a form. This great one, the first-born of Prakriti increate, is the unconscious author of the Vedas, because they emanate from him as an expiration.

When do they emanate? Here we have to unfold the doctrine of metempsychosis, which underlies all the philosophical speculations of ancient India; which even those bold spirits, who, like Kapila and Buddha, cast aside all faith in God, personal, if not impersonal, did not dare abandon. Prakriti creates one world after another in endless succession, to meet the exigencies of human desert, or to afford scope for the consumption of the fruits of work. One world is evolved after another to reward or furnish the accumulated work of those which precede, and to furnish cause, by its own accumulated work added to the tremendous load it inherits, for the existence of those which succeed. Every renovated world, with its shifting panorama of moral actions and moral deserts, is thus connected with an endless chain of antecedent, and an equally endless chain of consequent stages of existence. Each of these gradually unfolded stages of existence or works vanishes, when its appointed service is over, only to see another springing up, and contriving its great work of rewarding virtue and punishing vice. At each of these renovations of the world, the Vedas issue out of the emergent deity, called intelligence in the original Sutras, and the self-existent, or Brahma, in subsequent times, as an afflation.

In conclusion, let us ascertain what the work under review says of liberation, the great object and scope of all the speculations embodied in its pages. Prakriti creates or energizes, to liberate the soul from the bondage of non-discrimination, or misapprehension, or misconception. How is this effected? Not by worship, for worship takes for granted what is not admitted, the existence of a creative and controlling being behind the veil of natural phenomena; not by sacrifices, because these, as they inflict pain upon the victims, cannot but occasion pain to those by whom they are offered, by the law of retribution; not by rites and ceremonies of a bloodless character, because whatever efficacy they may have is of a transient, not a permanent, nature. These all are certainly praised in various parts of scripture. The sacrifice of the horse is said to give the offerer power to conquer all worlds, expiate sin, overcome death, and attain immortality. The juice of the soma, the moon-plant (*Asclepias acida*) is said to have conferred victory,

triumph, "effulgence" and "deathless being" on Indra himself, and the subordinate gods and goddesses of the Indian Parnassus. But it is to be borne in mind, that the benefits conferred by bloody and bloodless rites are evanescent, and that even the gods perish at every dissolution of the world, or at the consummation of every single stage of existence. "Many thousands of Indras and other gods have passed away in successive periods, overcome by time; for time is hard to overcome." Freedom from the galling yoke of transmigration, from an almost interminable chain of births and deaths, religious observances cannot possibly secure.

Such freedom is the result of right knowledge or discrimination, which is obtained by meditation. "From knowledge (acquired during mundane existence) comes salvation (soul's chief end)"—(Book III, Aph. 23). Knowledge alone, dissociated from, not in conjunction with, works, is the fountain of liberation, as the verse following the one quoted assures us,—“Since this (*viz.* knowledge) is the precise cause of liberation, there is neither association (of any thing else with it, *e. g.*, good works) nor alternativeness (*e. g.*, of good works in its stead.) This knowledge is attained by meditation, on the nature and efficacy of which the following verses give information :—

“Meditation is the cause of the removal of desire (that affection of the mind by objects which is a hinderer of knowledge.) It (meditation, from the effectuation of which, and not from merely communing upon it,) knowledge arises, is perfected by the repelling of the modifications (of the mind which ought to be obstructed from all thoughts of anything.) This meditation is perfected by restraint, postures, and one's duties. Restraint (of the breath) is by means of expulsion and intention. Steady and (promoting) ease is a (suitable) posture, (such as the crossing of the arms). One's duty is the performance of the actions prescribed for one's religious order.”—(Book III, Aph. 30-35.)

The subject of meditation, and its varied appliances belongs, properly speaking, to Yoga philosophy, the counterpart, not only of the Sankhya system, but in some respects of every system of philosophy propounded in India, not excluding almost all of those systems, which, like Buddhism and its offshoots, are branded heterodox. Meditation, not in its incipient stages, but when perfected, years of close attention, and rigid conformity to its almost endless varieties of stringent rules, beget right knowledge, which dispels non-discrimination, and brings on emancipation. The essence of the knowledge begotten by meditation is the distinction between the soul and non-soul, the passive, quiescent, immobile spirits and the ever-active, plastic, formative Prakriti. When this distinction

is clearly apprehended by the mind, the soul is set free from the bondage of its desires and aversions, its good and bad deeds, and their woeful consequences in an almost endless chain of transmigrations.

The soul is, of course, in a very loose sense said to be set free, its bondage and liberation being nominal, not real,—reflections and shadows, not realities. The bondage and liberation spoken of throughout this book are in reality the bondage and liberation of Prakriti, which, first of all, weaves a net for its own entanglement by a process of evolution, and ultimately effects its own emancipation by a process of meditation. And to this mischievous activity it is impelled by passion (*rajas*), the second of the three qualities, which form its Trinitarian essence.

RAM CHANDRA BOSE.

ART. VII.—SUFISM.

IT may seem somewhat strange that Súfism, a mystical form of religion, should take its rise and flourish in a system so exact and uncompromising, so rigid and final as Islám, but the truth is, that it is a re-action from the burden of a rigid law and a wearisome ritual; an attempt to reconcile philosophy with the dogmas of the Qurán. The needs of the human heart, the spirit of an Eastern people, required something warmer than the cold orthodoxy of the Faithful. The tendency of Súfism is decidedly pantheistic, that is towards Pantheism from its philosophical side, as teaching that "there is one eternal and infinite substance of which all things that exist are modifications with no permanent individual existence." It is not so much the deification of the finite, as the nothingness of all phenomena. To the pantheistic Súfi, the world and all things therein are fleeting. He does not assert that the world is divine, but that it is nothing. The perception of things is only an illusion; the world is a place

"Where nothing is, and all things seem,
And we the shadows of a dream."

To the Súfi God is all and in all—One without a second. Beneath the ever-shifting forms, One remains: under the unsubstantial accidents, One is real. "In Pantheism, God, conceived of as the substance of the world, if He lies behind all finite beings and objects, stands, at least, in precisely the same relation to all." Thus, in Súfism the doctrine often leads to carelessness of life and to disregard of morality, for things base and things pure, intelligent and mean, are all alike related to that which is the substance of all.

Thus Jelál-ud-din Rúmi * says:—

" 'God's blessing' is the name of all that's good in man,
'The curse of God' of all that's evil in our plan.
In which of these two seas our streamlets may subside
They but return into the source from whence their tide." †

A system which, in some aspects, conceives God to be as near

* In this article, I take my illustrations from, and base my conclusions on, the teaching of the great master of Súfism, Moulána Jelál-ud-din Rúmi in the *Musnavi*, and on that of Mahmúd Sháhbistari in the *Gulshán-i-Raz*. For the English rendering of the Persian, I am indebted to recent translations of these works published by Trübner. It will be seen that the translations from the *Musnavi* are not very literal.

† صبغت الله نام ان رنگ لطيف * لعنت الله بوى اين رنگ كئياف
انچه از دريا بدريا مي-رود * از همان جا كامد انجا مي-رود

to the heart in which selfishness and lust rule, as he is to the heart, in which purity and holiness have their sway, obliterates moral distinctions in act and life. In yielding to his nature, the Sûfî may think he thus yields to God. To him "immersion in the natural is absorption in the divine." This is the natural outcome of the system, but not all Sûfis are consistent, and it would be idle to deny that many a Musalmán mystic has tried to lead a higher life than that of his fellows around. That men are often better than their creed, is as true of the Sûfî as of the orthodox Muslim.

Sûfis, however, claim to be orthodox, and assert that they are the true expounders of the Qurán, and the Hadís (Traditional sayings of the Prophet.) They maintain that they know, as none others do, the esoteric meaning of the words given through, or spoken by, the Prophet :—

"The spirit 'tis gives value : words are mere pretence." *

This spirit must be earnestly sought for, then

"Will unity be found as in a treasure." †

Jelál-ud-din Rúmî thus describes all those who do not know this esoteric meaning of the Muhammadan Revelation, whether contained in the Qurán or in the Hadís—

"Where'er you hear a note of God's truth-warbling bird, †
You straightway seize its literal sense, just as 'tis heard,
You then use suppositions of your darksome mind,
And form, through wrong conclusions, guesses worse than blind.
"The Saints use terms of technical significance
Unknown to worldly readers' crass ignorance,
The language of the bird you learn, as to its notes ;
But clean forget its sense, as sure as fancy dotes."

The orthodox Muhammadan tenet is that God, having created the world, retired to the 'arsh, the highest heaven, and now leaves His creatures to work out their salvation, according to the light vouchsafed to them through the prophets. He is a God afar off, a pitiless Force, a capricious Despot. From this idea Sûfism revolts. According to it God is immanent in all His creatures : the sum of life, in whom all things live. He not only originated all action, but dwells with each individual.

"Eternal and temporal are not separate from one another,
For in that Being this non-existent has it being." §

* پائے معنی گیر صورت سرکشست *ibid.*

† تا بینی زیر آن وحدت چو کنج *ibid.*

‡ Muhammad.

§ قدیم و محدث از هم جدا نیست * که از هستیست باقی دایمانیست

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

The Súfi, the enlightened man, sees behind the veil. He knows *Allah* to be the One, the necessary Being, the First Cause. He looks on the whole world of phenomena as "not being."

"The whole world is merely an imaginary thing,
It is like one point whirled round in a circle." *

One day, when expounding his views, Jelál-ud-din made the following statement: "Thou seest nought, save that thou seest God therein." A certain Darvish came forward and maintained that the use of the term "therein" indicated a receptacle, and that it might be argued that God would thus be comprehended, whereas He is in-comprehensible. To this, Jelál answered, "The universe of God's qualities is the receptacle of the universe of God's essence; but these two universes are really one. The first of them is not He, the second of Them is not other than He. Those, apparently, two things, are in truth one and the same. How, then, is a contradiction in terms implied? God comprises the exterior and the interior. If we cannot say, He is the interior, He will not include the interior, but He comprises all, and in Him all things have their being. He is, then, the receptacle also, comprising all existences as the Qurán says, 'He comprises all things.'" The Darvish was silenced and became a disciple.

This is a very good illustration of the kind of discussions held amongst the doctors of Súfism, and according to the accounts which have come down to us, they generally convinced all gain-sayers who seem to have been taken aback by such obscure, and in most cases, unintelligible language.

In a verse already quoted from Jelál-ud-din (p. 324), it would seem as if Súfis hold that evil, as well as good, has its origin and return in God; but there are many statements in the Súfi writings which clearly imply just the opposite, and certainly the general teaching of Súfism seems to be that evil proceeds, not from 'Being,' but from 'not being.' Thus—

"Being is purely good in whatever it be,
If it also contains evil, that proceeds from 'other.' " †

جهان خود جمله امر اعتیباریست * چو آن یک نقطه کندر دورساریست *

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

وجود آنجا که باشد محض خیرست * اگر شریست دروی آن زغیرست †

Ibid.

At the same time, it is held that both are in some way manifestations of the 'Truth.'

"How can it be lust which ravishes men's hearts,
For 'the Truth' now and again appears as evil
Know 'the Truth' in the garb of good is the 'True Faith';
'The Truth' in the garb of evil is evil, is the word of Satan." *

"There is no worker in creation, save *Allah* " is a dogma of Sufism, but with this is held as firmly "evil comes from 'other.'" This resembles the Augustinian view that evil is a negation, a departure from God, who is the source and sum of all existence. But the fact is that Sufism has not solved the difficulty of the origin and existence of evil; it leaves the problem where it finds it in the Qurán, which is in some places distinctly necessitarian in its teaching, and in others, as strongly on the side of free-will. Take, for example, the two following passages.—"By a soul and Him who balanced it, and breathed into it its wickedness and purity."

(*Súra* 91-8). There is little room for freedom of the will in this. Then take the passage—

"Whatever good betideth thee is from God, but whatever betideth thee of evil is from thyself"—(*Súra* 4-81).

Súfis claim to be the best and truest expounders of the Qurán, but they have not found a key to reconcile these conflicting statements, and so it is not to be wondered at, that there is in their system a want of consistency on this question.

As all created things are included in the category of 'not being,' it is the duty of the man who would be perfect to rise from this state to that of 'contingent being,' where, for a while, laws and creeds are needed for his guidance; but the path lies onward, and the traveller on the mystic road leaves these behind, and as he ascends higher and higher towards 'Being,' he is freer and freer from outward restraints. He returns to God and lives in God?

We may here notice that to the ordinary Muslim the meaning of the dogma of *Jabr* is, that God compels men to carry out His will. Practically, *Jabr* is pure fatalism. The Súfi cannot deny the Quránic teaching on this point, but he regards this *Jabr*, this almighty power, as the constant working of the Supreme Being in the world of phenomena, the manifestation of the divine energy in creation, the immanence of 'Being' in 'not being.' The dogma is thus softened down to a pantheistic view of God, and

كجا شهوت دل مردم ربايد * نه حق كه كه ز باطل مى نمايد *
حق اندر كسوت حق دهن حق دلان * حق اندر باطل آيد كار شيطان

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

deprived of its harsh and rugged aspect. The Muhammadan doctrine of fatalism supplies a basis for the mystic dogmas of Quietism.

The principle underlying the Súfî system is that "sense and reason cannot transcend phenomena, or see the real Being which underlies them all; so sense and reason must be ignored and superseded in favour of the 'inner light,' the divine illumination of the heart, which is the only faculty whereby men perceive the infinite."

Then, when thus enlightened, Sufis see that all the external phenomena, including man, is but an illusion, and as it is "non-existent, it is an evil, because it is a departure from the real Being." The illuminated man gets little help from reason, in fact, it fails him here :

"But, in addition to reason man has a certain faculty,
Whereby he understands hidden mysteries." *

This faculty (*taur*) is evoked by desire of the truth. This idea is not peculiar to the Súfî. It underlies the teaching of the mystics of all ages. To take only one, Hugo of St. Victor calls it the 'eye of the soul,' by which he had immediate intuitions of God. He asserts "that this eye beholds what the eye of sense and the eye of reason cannot see, what is both within us and above us. God within, is both what we must flee, and whither we must flee. The highest and lowest are so far identical. Thus do the pure in heart see God."† This is quite in accordance with the Súfî view.

Súfis, in support of their view that the first and most important act of life, is to attain a knowledge of God, quote the verse, "When God said to the angels, 'I am about to place a Viceregent on the earth,' they said: 'Wilt Thou place therein one who shall commit abomination and shed blood?' Nay, we celebrate Thy praise and holiness. God answered them, 'Verily, I know that ye wot not of: '" (*Súra* 2-28.)—It is said that this verse proves, that though the great majority of men would commit abomination, some would receive the divine light and attain to a knowledge of God. Another verse is also quoted :

"Then found they one of our servants to whom we had vouchsafed mercy, and whom we have instructed with our knowledge"—(*Súra* 18-64.)

There is, too, a tradition to the effect that David said, "O Lord! why hast Thou created mankind?" God replied, 'I am a hidden treasure, and I would fain become known.' " It is the work of the

و رای عقل طوری دارد انسان * که بشناسد بدان اسرار پنهان
Gulshân-i-Râz.

† Hours with the Mystics—Vaughan, vol. 1, p. 158.

Súfi to find that treasure, to gain that knowledge, and so to attain to the Divine light.

The earlier Muhammadan mystics sought to impart life to a rigid and formal ritual. They had no intention of becoming unorthodox. Many of their utterances are very beautiful, such as, "As neither meat nor drink profits the diseased body, so no warning avails to touch the heart full of the love of this world." "The work of a holy man doth not consist in this, that he eats grain, and clothes himself in wool, but in the knowledge of God and submission to His will." "Thou deservest not the name of a learned man, till thy heart is emptied of the love of this world." "Hide thy good deeds as closely as thou would'st hide thy sins :"

"And he'll ne'er take his flight towards Heaven's eternal King,
Who holds at heart the thought that he's a perfect Thing."

One of these men,—men who often successfully withstood the exercise of unrighteous power, was one day ushered into the presence of the Khalif Hárún-ar-Rashíd, who said to him, "How great is thy abnegation?" The mystic replied, "Thine is greater." "How so," said the Khalif. "Because I made abnegation of this world, and thou makest abnegation of the next." Even in a book like the *Musnavi*, we find Jelál-ud-din, who inculcates Súfism, pure and simple, with all its disregard for the outward restraints of an objective revelation, sometimes teaching sounder principles, thus :—

"To trust in God, and yet put forth our utmost skill,
The surest method is to work His holy will ;
The friend of God must work."

This earlier mysticism, however, gradually developed into Súfism, and towards the close of the second century of the Hijra, it became prevalent. The first fervour of conquest was over and men settled down to consider the grounds of their faith. A reaction from formalism was the result. The creed of Islám concerning God, simple as it was, did not satisfy the minds of those who wanted to know more about Him. Especially is this true of the Persians, who never took kindly to Islám, as the orthodox proclaimed it, and who were, after their conversion, quite ready to adopt a system which, whilst it professes on its exoteric side to be faithful to the Qurán, yet, has its esoteric doctrines about God, good and evil, and the origin and nature of the universe.

The Zindiq and Mutazalá controversies also were introducing a system of scholasticism, from which the Persian mind revolted. Reason and logic could not with him take the place of a revelling in the sense of the beautiful, or of meditating on the union of God with man. As Grecian literature, too, became more accessible, it

produced a latitudinarian spirit which Sufiism imbibed. Thus the way was fully prepared for the rise of this school of thought in a system which seems the most unlikely to have fostered such mystical tendencies.

In the third century of the Hijra, there was no doubt as to the pantheistic development of Sufiism. Al-Halláj then taught in Baghdád thus: "I am the Truth, there is nought in Paradise but God, I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I; we are two souls dwelling in one body. When thou seest me, thou seest Him; and when thou seest Him, thou seest me."

The authorities in Baghdád could not permit this, and Halláj, one of the earliest martyrs of Sufiism, was flogged, tortured, and finally beheaded by order of the Khalif. The phrase *Alláh-o-bas*, "God, and nothing else," expresses the stage now arrived at.

The following verse from Hafiz, gives, in its mystical meaning, a clue to the Sufi system—

"The prayer mat stain with wine, if so,
The Magian's favour thou canst gain,
The traveller in the land should know
The ways and customs of the Inn."

The traveller is the Sálík, the man in search of union with the Divine.

Wine is the Divine love; the Inn is the stage in which the traveller is immersed in the Divine mysteries. It is, according to Sufiism, an error to suppose that man has any existence apart from God, and not until this error is put away, can the mystic journey be entered upon:—

"Plant one foot upon the neck of self,
The other in thy Friend's domain;
In every thing His presence see,
For other vision is in vain."

Or, as Mahmúd in the *Gulshán-i-Ráz* puts it—

"Like Moses, son of Amram, press onward in this road
Till you hear the words, '*Verily, I am God*,'
So long as the Mount * of your being remains before you,
The answer to '*Show me*' is *Thou shalt not see me*.†

The traveller now sets out upon his path in which he finds various aids. The first is attraction (*jazb*). This is God drawing the man to Himself away from the world. He who enters this state is a Muríd, or one who has inclination (*irádah*) towards

* i. e. Phenomenal illusive existence which hides real absolute Being.

و با چون موسی عمر ان دراین راه * برو تا بشنوی انی انا الله
نرا تا کوه هستی پیش باقیست * جواب لفظ زری کن درای ست

good. If he remains in this stage, he is 'called attracted' (majzúb). He should now submit himself to a very severe self-examination, and probe the very secret recesses of his heart. This he does by the aid of devotion, and henceforth is known as the 'devoutly attracted' (Sálik-i-majzúb). The journey to God is now fairly commenced, and becomes completed when he has attained to the true knowledge of the Supreme, which is, that there is no existence, save *Allah*. Then begins the journey in God, or the gaining of the knowledge of His nature and attributes, and to this inquiry and search, there is no limit. As the Sálik rises higher and higher in this spiritual ascent ('Urúj), he becomes more and more perfect.

From the words, 'are not creation and command of Him—' (*Súra VII*, 52), Sáfis deduce the conclusion, that the works of God are included either in the 'perceived world,' or in the 'conceived world.' The former is the material, visible, created world, familiar to all: the latter the invisible, spiritual, future world. It is the world of command (al-amr), so called from the well known phrase, "Be, and it was" (kun fayakúna). The author of the *Akhlaq-i-Jaláli* tells us, that it is "admitted equally by the masters of perception and conception, that the first principle which, at the mandate 'Be, and it was' issued, by the instrumentality of the ineffable power and will, from the chaotic ocean of inexistence, was a simple and luminous essence, which, in the language of philosophy, is termed the *primary* intellect; (though in some accounts, it is termed the supreme intelligence) and the great fathers of mysticism and investigation call it the Muhammadan spirit."*

We have thus the authority of one of the greatest amongst Musalmán writers, for the general correctness, according to Muhammadan notions, of the Súfi cosmogony. According to it, God first created the *primal* element (iauhar-i-awwál), and to the creation of this, the following passage is supposed to refer:—"And it was not the business of an hour, but even as the twinkling of an eye, or quicker still." (*Súra XVI*, 79). This primal element is also called by the names of the 'Pen,' the 'spirit of Muhammad,' 'Primal Intelligence,' 'Universal Reason,' ('Aql-i-kull). This is God's world, near to Him, and ever seeking Him.

The universe is the world of this primal element, but God's voice in the universe is only heard through the medium of this element. Thus, as the 'Pen,' it wrote the commands of God:

"What time the *Káf* of His power breathed on the Pen,
It cast thousands of pictures on the page of 'not being.' " †

* *Akhlaq-i-Jaláli*, p. 358.

† چو قاف قدرتش دم بر قلم زد * هزاران نقش—ش بر لوح عدم زد
Gulshán-i-Ráz.

Then, in obedience to the creative energy thus displayed, came forth intelligences, souls, elements, and heaven. These, again, took up the task, and the three kingdoms—the mineral, vegetable, and animal were brought into existence. Sûfis refer to the verse “N” by the Pen, and what they write “(Sura 68), and say that “N” represents the world of power, or God’s inkstand, that the pen here means the primal element, and that the words “they write” refer to the simple natures. They write on for ever, for, “were the sea ink, it would not suffice for the words of my Lord—” (Sura XVIII. 109). “Thus the universe is ever *evolving* :—sustained every moment by, as it were, pulsations of the pervading spirit, so that it is described as being every moment annihilated and fresh created.” *

But the final object of all creation is man.

“There is no other final cause beyond man
It is disclosed in man’s own self.” †

“That which was made last, was first in thought”
The last that was made, was the soul of Adam. ‡

The meaning of which is said to be that the very essence of man is ‘universal reason,’ so that which was first in the Divine mind was last in fact, and thus man is the final cause of creation.

A sacred deposit is committed to man. “Verily, we proposed a deposit to the heavens, and to the earth, and to the mountains between them, but they refused the burden, and we entrusted it to man, who is unjust and foolish” (Sura XXXIII. 72). This deposit, according to the Sûfis, is the duty of displaying the Divine attributes. It is true, that man is both good and evil, still he can do this work, for though

“The black-hearted and the fool are the opposite of light, §
Yet are they the theatres of the true Epiphany.”

The good in man represents the beautiful attributes (Jamâl) of God; the evil the terrible ones (Jalâl). This, then, is the function of man, and as he comes from the primal intelligence,

* Kay on Pantheism, p. 52.

نه آخر عات غایبی در آخر * همی گردد بذات خویش ظاهر †

Gulshân-i-Râz.

هراچه آید بآخر پیش می بین * در آخر گشت پیدا نفس ادم

Gulshân-i-Râz.

ظالمی و جهولی صد نورند §

و لیک مظهر عین ظهورند

Gulshân-i-Râz.

he must, if he would be perfect, rise up to it again in the primal element. "From Him was the origin and to Him is the return"—(*Súra X. 4*). It is this return which is the aim and object of the traveller's journey. Thus Jelál-ud-din says:—

"From realms of formlessness, existence doth take form,
And fades again therein: To Him we must return." *

This is the "procession of essence unto essence."—(*Akhlaq-i-Jaláli*, p. 364.)

The Primal element is that of which Muhammad speaks when he says: "The first thing which God created was my soul, my soul was the primal element." The function of this element is to receive and to bestow. In other words, it includes the saintly and prophetic offices. This explains allusions and statements in Súfí writings which seem to imply, especially with regard to Muhammad, the union of prophets and Imáms with the Divine Being. Jelál-ud-dín Rúmí said: "A true disciple is he who holds his teacher to be superior to all others."

In accordance with this theory, when a disciple of Báyezíd was asked whether his master or God was the greater, he replied, "I only know my teacher, I know no other than him, and I know that he is greater than all others." Another, to a similar question, replied, "There is no difference between the two. As God does not walk in this world of sensible objects, the prophets are the substitutes of God. No, No! I am wrong! For if thou supposest that *those substitutes and their principal are two different things, thou hast judged erroneously, and not rightly.*"

Both the saintly and prophetic offices are said to be united in Muhammad. This throws some light on the views held with regard to the 'light of Muhammad'—the 'Núr-i-Muhammadi. The general idea is that, before God created the world, he took a ray of light from His own splendour and united it to the body of Muhammad, to which he said: "Thou art the elect, the chosen, I will make the members of thy family, the guides to salvation." This light (Núr) is said to be of four kinds. From the first kind, God created His throne; from the second, the Pen of Fate; from the third, Paradise, and from the fourth, the state or place of spirits and all created beings. According to a statement made by 'Ali, Muhammad said that he was created from the light of God, whilst all other created beings were formed from the "Núr-i-Muhammadi." In some way, then'

* صورت بی صورتی آمد بیرون * باز شد کانا الیه راجعون *

Muhammad is supposed to be connected with the primal essence, and this may explain such traditions as this, recorded on the authority of 'Abbás:—"I heard the Prophet say, 'He who blasphemes my name, blasphemes the name of God.'" And also a saying by 'Alī, "The Prophet said that he was created from the light of God, whilst all other created beings were formed from the Núr-i-Muhammadi." This Núr is said to be the greatest of lights.

"The light of the Prophet is a mighty sun,
Now shining in Moses, now in Adam." *

Muhammad is sometimes called the Great Spirit (rúh-ul-a'zam), the Universal Reason, the Haqiqat-i-Insání, by which terms is meant that he is of the primal essence, the first emanation from Deity. Hence, he is called the sun. As light was first produced by God, all other prophets are, according to the verse just quoted, but emanations from him. These ideas must be borne in mind in reading such a Hadis, as "He who has seen me, has seen God."

The perfect man sees in the Universe, the book of the Truth most High (Hama'álam Kitáb-i-Haq Ta'ála ast.) This 'book' is described in the Gulshán-i-Ráz as consisting of chapters, of which the first is 'Universal Reason' ('Aql-i-kul), the second 'Universal Soul' (Nafs-i-kul), the third 'the Highest Heaven' ('Arsh-i-asmán,) and the Throne (Al-kursi); then follow the heavenly spheres (jurmha-i-asman,) the four elements (jurm-i-'anásir), the three kingdoms of nature (jurm-sih-maulúd), and at last comes the soul of man, just as the last chapter of the Qurán is entitled "man." These are all the successive emanations of Divinity, and the soul of man, proceeding, as it is said to do, from Universal Soul (hafs-i-kul), is equally with the heavens (arsh,) a theatre for the manifestation of the Divine perfections. There is a Tradition to the effect,—“The heart of a believer is the highest heaven.”—So Mahmúd—

"Of every thing in the world above or below
An exemplar is set forth in your soul and body." †

As man thus sprung from the primal essence and should return to it, Súfis explain his existence as a circle which meets in the primal intelligence. On the one side of the circle is descent (nazul), "which includes the whole process of development till man becomes possessed of reasonable powers;"

بود نور نبی خورشید اعظم * که از موسی پدید گه ز آدم *

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

ز هر چه اندر حجاب از شیب و بالاست * مثالش در تن و جان تو پیداست †

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

the other side of the circle is ascent ('Arúj), the goal of which is re-absorption in the divine essence. This journey is called the Tariqát, or Road, by which is meant that a gradual acquaintance is made with all those doctrines of Mysticism which treat of man's return to God. No one can set out on this journey without a full determination to seek for a solution of all his doubts and uncertainties as regards God and himself. He must most earnestly desire to know, hence he is called a seeker (Tálib). If he feels drawn onward, he is "attracted." Then he becomes a disciple (Muríd), and attaches himself to some spiritual guide, or *Pir*. The initial stage is now passed and the man becomes a real traveller, a Sálík, whose time and thoughts are henceforth to be given to salúk, or the prosecution of this journey, until he arrives at the perfect state.

There are now eight stages to be reached. Few enter into and pass from the whole. These stages are service ('abudiyat), love ('ishq), seclusion (zuhd), knowledge (ma'rifat), ecstasy (wajd or Hál), the truth (haqiqat), union (wasl), extinction (faná).

Súfi poets deals mostly with the second stage, in which the Sálík is the lover and God the beloved one. Words expressive of one who is the object of attraction and love on earth are then applied in a mystical sense to God. References are, however, frequent to other stages of the mystic journey. The goal of the Súfi is to be reached by divine illumination, not by philosophy.

"The Theologian who has no perception of unity *

Is in utter darkness, in clouds and bondage of dogmas.

The Theologian is the Mutakallim, or scholastic Theologian, who seeks divine light by the aid of logic and reason, and not by that of illumination. He perceives not the Tauhid or unification, that is, that all things are one, or as Hafiz puts it.—

"Hafiz, when preaching unity with unitarian pen,

Blot out and cancel every page that tells of spirits and of men."

A Musalmán author defines Tauhid, or unity, to be this: "To annihi-late self in the absolute truth, to become eternal in the absolute, to be made one with the one and to abstain from evil," † whereas Taklíd, the bondage of dogmas, in which the ordinary Musalmán is enslaved,

كلامی كه ندارد ذوق توحید * بتاریکی درست ار غیم تقلید *

Gulshún-i-Ráz.

† Tauler says: "If the highest and most glorious unity, which is God Himself, is to be united to the soul, it must be through oneness. Now when the soul hath utterly forsaken itself and all creatures, and hath made itself free from all manifoldness, then, the sole unity, which is God, answers to the oneness of the soul, for there is nothing in the soul beside God."

is the putting on of a collar on the neck, imitation, subservience to authority. Thus man gains illumination, according to the Súfis, by direct intuition, and not by scholastic methods, which deal with quantity, quality and relation.

"The Divine essence is free from where, how and why *
Let His glory be exalted above what men say of Him."

This knowledge is not even to be obtained by a demonstration from His works; it is not gained till all the illusory phenomena which cover "the Truth" are annihilated.

"Since His works are manifested from His essence,
His essence is not manifested from His works;
The light of His essence is not contained in phenomena,
For the glory of His Majesty is exceeding great." †

Even an outward revelation is not needed, for

"In that place where God's light is our guide,
What room is there for the Message of Gabriel." ‡

In other words, the Qurán is not required. Still more, one to whom God's light is thus revealed attains a higher station than Angel ever reaches.

"Though the Angels stand, hard by the Throne,
They reach not the station, 'I am with God.'" §

There is now no room for the exercise of reason, for

"Reason's light applied to the very light of light
Is as the eye of the head applied to the sun." ||

In short, one who enters on the mystic journey must remove from the mind all earthly and human accidents, and reduce it to its abstract essence in which Deity appears.

Jelál-ud-dín in the 14th tale of the first book of the Musnavi describes this very well. A dispute arose between certain Chinese and Greek artists as to their respective skill. The

* منزّه ذاتش از چند وجه و چون * تفالی شأنه عما یقولون *

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

‡ چو آیانبست روشن کشته از ذات * نگردد ذات او روشن از آیات †
نگنجد نور ذات اندر مظاهر * که سبحات جلالش هست قاصر

Ibid.

‡ دران موضع که نور حق دلیل است * چه حائی گفت و گوئی جبرئیل است †

Ibid.

§ فرشته گرچه دارد قرب درگاه * نگنجد در مقام لی مع الله §

Ibid.

|| بود نور خرد در ذات انور * بسان چشم سر در چشمه خور ||

Ibid.

Sultan at the request of the Chinamen allotted a house to each party on opposite sides of the street, and supplied them with all the necessary things for their work.

The following is a free translation of the Persian story :—

“The Chinese ask him for a thousand colours,
All that they ask he gives right royally,
And every morning from his treasure-house
A hundred sorts are largely dealt them out.
The Greeks despise all colour as a stain
Effacing every hue with nicest care.
Brighter and brighter shines their polished front,
More dazzling, soon, than gleams the floor of heaven.
This hueless sheen is worth a thousand dyes,
This is the moon—they but her clouding veil ;
All that the cloud is bright or golden with,
Is but the lending of the moon or sun.
And now, at length, are China's artists ready,
The cymbals clang,—the Sultan hastens thither,
And sees enrapt the glorious gorgeousness
Smit nigh to swooning by those beamy splendours,
Then, to the Grecian palace opposite.
Just as the Greeks have put their curtain back,
Down glides a sunbeam through the rifted clouds,
And, lo, the colours of that rainbow house
Shine, all reflected on those glassy walls.
That face them, rivalling : the sun hath painted,
With lovelier blending, on that stony mirror
The colours spread by man so artfully.
Know then, O friend ! such Greeks the Sûfis are,
Owning nor book nor master, and on earth
Having one sole and simple task to make
Their hearts a stainless mirror for their God.
Is thy heart clear and argent as the moon ?
Then imaged there may rest, innumerable,
The forms and hues of Heaven.’

All this cannot be comprehended by reason, it is enough that the heart is with God, is God. * Then doubt passes into certainty, and all human arts give place to the inner light and love.

“The outward gilt, the shell of Science they despise,
The banner of real certitude floats where they rise,
They’ve thought abandoned ; light and life they’ve truly found,
Their breast and hearts are filled with love’s inspiring sound.”†

* عقل اینجا ساکت اید یا مضل * زانکه دل با اوست یا خود اوست دل
Musnavi.

† نقش و قشر علم را بگذاشتند * رایت عین الیقین افراشتند
رفت فکر و روشنایی یابند * برو بحر اشنائی یافتند
Ibid.

We may now proceed with our disciple, or Murid, upon his upward journey. Though exercising a devotion above all forms and modes, he yet yields implicit obedience to his spiritual guide. He chooses some famous mystic as his *Pir*, who henceforth is his director. It is not often that allusion to such men is made, but, as a matter of fact, they have great authority. At this stage the *Sálik* is supposed to know his origin, and to be in earnest in seeking to cast off the trammels of a separate existence.

"Again, you ask, 'who is the Traveller on the road';
It is he who is acquainted with his own origin.
He is a traveller who passes on with haste
And becomes pure from self as fire from smoke :
Know, his journey is a progress of revelation from the contingent
To the necessary, leading away from darkness and defect." *

"The wine of Divine love and ecstasy now intoxicates All phenomena from the first emanation downwards."

"The Heavens, giddy with this wine, are reeling to and fro,
Desiring in their hearts to smell its perfume,
The angels, drinking it pure from pure vessels,
Pour the dregs of their draught upon the world." †

The angels, as part of the spirit-world, were created before the material universe, and so are an earlier emanation from 'Being'; at length the wine reaches man, who rises to various grades according as he has spiritual capacity to receive this pure wine.

"One from the scent of its dregs becomes a philosopher,
One from seeing the colour of the pure wine a traditionist,
One from half a draught becomes righteous,
One from quaffing a cupful becomes a lover." ‡

مسافر آن بود کو بگذرد زود * ز خود صافی شود چون آتش از دود *
بعکس سیر اول در منازل * رود تا گـردد 'و انسان کامل
بدان اول که تا چون کشت موجود * که تا انسان کامل گشت مولود
Gulshán-i-Ráz.

فلک سرگشته از وی در نگه پیچ * هوا در دل بایید یکی بوی †
ملائک خورده صاف از کوزه پاک * بجرعه ریخته دردی برین خاک
Ibid.

ایکی از بوی دردس عقل آمد * یکی از رنگ صافش ناقل آمد †
ایکی از نیم جرعه گشته صادق * یکی از یک صراحی گشته عاشق
Ibid.

But the true and perfect man does not stop at such a moderate share. He swallows cup, wine-house, and even wine drinker.

"Well done, O, ocean heart, O, mighty winebibber !
He drinks up existence as one draught,
And obtains release from affirmations and negations.
Freed from dry devotions and empty rites,
He grasps the skirt of the ancient of the wine-house." *

The ancient of the wine-house is the *Pir* to whom the devotee yields implicit obedience. Not all at once does he get freedom from forms and formulas, but, having imbibed the pure wine, he fully enters on the first stage and becomes an 'Abd, that is one still in servitude ('Abudiyat).

"The honour of man lies in being under compulsion,
Not in having a share in free will." †

This ought not to cause anxiety or vexation, for, as the perfect man is destined to display the Divine attributes, he must be restrained.

"He has imposed on you the law for this cause,
'That He has imparted to you of His essence ;
Since you are impotent in the hands of 'the Truth,'
Abandon and forsake this self of yours." ‡

True deliverance is to be found in the 'All' ; true riches will be obtained when the man is united in 'the Truth,' when the Divine will works with the true self.

The next stage is, that of love ('ishq), and it is of this stage that the Sûfî poets mostly treat. The devotee must now often pass out of self, and become unconscious even of time and space.

"Straightway lift your self above time and space,
Quit the world and be yourself a world for yourself," §

ز هی دریا دل رند سرا فراز *
در آشامیده هستی را بیک بار * فراغت یافته ز اقرار و انکار*
شده فارغ ز زهد خشک و طامات * گسسته دامن پیـر خرابات
Gulshân-i-Râz.

گرامت آدمی را اضطرار است * نه آن کورا نصیبی اختیار است †
Ibid.

بشروع زان سبب تکلیف کردند * که از ذات خودت تعریف کردند ‡
چواز تکلیف حق عاجز شوی تو * بیکبار از میان بیرون روی تو
Ibid.

یکی راه بر تو از کون و مکان شو * جهان بگذار و خود در خود جهان شو §
Ibid.

The devotee must abandon outward forms ('adat) and religious customs. These trammels are not for him.

"If you seek to be a true servant, abandon form,
Form accords not with tone of obedience." *

With this dissolution from self, and this abandonment of form, comes freedom from creeds and commands.

"All the authority of the law is over this "I" of yours,
Since that is bound to your soul and body.
When "I" and "you" remain not in the midst,
What is mosque, what is synagogue, what is fire temple." †

Individual personality embraces evil as well as good; get rid of the personality and you need no restraint. So also Jelál-ud-dín:—

"This "I," and this "We," thou'st ordained for Thy state,
That psalms, hymns and lauds may still rise to Thy gate,
When "I" and when "We" shall unite both in one
Absorbed they'll be in Thy essence alone." ‡

The third stage is called abstraction (zuhd). The devotee must now be abstracted and silent.

"Should any one love thee, do thou silent be?" §

The events of the world, the affairs of every day-life should have no interest or influence on the abstracted soul—

"What care I if cities in ruins should fall,
In ruins we treasures find dear to us all.
Man merged in God, most entirely is drowned
As wave of a sea, soul goes a set round." ||

The word used for "abstraction" is Tajrid, it means a stripping off, a making bare, hence in Súfi phraseology it is used to express

* عبادت خواهی از عادت بپرهیز * نگردد جمع عادت با عبادت *

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

همه حکم شریعت از من تست * که آن بر بسند جان و تن تست †
من و تو چون نماند در میانه * چه مسجد چه کشت چه دیرخانه
Ibid.

این من وما بهر آن ساختی * ذا تو با خود فرد خدمت باختی ‡
نامن و توها همه یک جان شوند * عاقبت مستغرق جانان شوند
Musnavi.

چونکه عاشق اوست خاموش باش ‡
من چه غم دارم که ویرانی بود * زیر ویران نذبح ساطانی بود ||
غرق حق خواهد که باشد غرق تر * همچو موج بحر جان زیر و زیر
Ibid.

purification from self, a simplification of nature by which the mystic becomes identified with the infinite.

Lahiji, a Muhammadan commentator on the *Gulshán-i-Ráz*, defines it thus :—" A passing by the stages of carnal lust and mental operations, and human pleasures and relations, and emerging from the limitation of self, which veils man's real essence."

This abstraction is necessary in order to think aright.

" Abstraction is a condition of good thinking,
For then the lightning of Divine guidance illumines us." *

The next stage is knowledge (*Ma'rifat*). If God and man be one, if the mystic is so immersed in the infinite, as the previous stages imply, it may be reasonably asked how this knowledge can be communicated. This question has been put—

" If knower and known are both the one pure essence,
What are the aspirations in this handful of dust?" †

That is, what is the cause of the desire for the knowledge of the Truth which inspires the mystic? The answer is, that as he has no real existence of his own, 'it is only by the communicated existence and knowledge of God that he can know him.' Thus :—

" Be not thankful for the grace of the 'Truth,'
For it is by the light of the 'Truth' that thou knowest the Truth,
Beside Him is no knower or known, be sure,
Nevertheless, the dust draws heat from the sun.
It is not strange that the motes of dust have hope,
And desire for the sun's heat and light." ‡

The next stage is, ecstasy (*wajd* or *hál*.) The end of knowledge is practice, and the practice of virtuous actions leads to the acquirement of " good states," i. e., ecstatic conditions (*ahwál*).

" An action which proceeds from good 'states' of heart
Is much better than the mere knowledge of the word." §

بود فکر نک—و را شرط تجرید * پس انکه لمعۀ از برق تائید

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

اگر معروف و عارف ذات پاکست * چه سودا در سر این مشت خاکست †

Ibid.

مکن بر نعمت حق فاسپاسی * که تو حق را بذور حق شناسی ‡

جزا و معروف و عارف نیست در باب * و لیکن خاک می باید ز خود تاب
عجب نبود که دارد ذره امید * هوای تاب مهر و نور خورشید

Ibid.

عمل گان از سر احوال باشد * بسی بهتر ز عام قال باشد §

Ibid.

This verse is meant to show that the ecstatic state is higher than the previous state of knowledge (Ma'rifat). Hal is defined by Súfis to be "a state which occurs to the heart spontaneously, and without effort, like grief or fear, or expansion or cheerfulness, or desire or joy, and which ceases as soon as the natural dispositions of the soul manifest themselves, without being followed by similar states."

This stage is described as one of the greatest bliss. Then supposed to be free from the stain of earthly form, they drink what "their Lord gives them to drink"—(*Súra*, LXXVI, 21.)

"And what is pure wine? It is purification from self!
What bliss, what ecstasy, what intoxication;
O happy moment, when we shall quit ourselves,
When we shall be rich in utterest poverty.
Without faith or reason, or piety or perception,
Bowed down in the dust, drunken and beside ourselves,
Of what account, then, will be Paradise and Houris." *

The "utterest poverty" is the complete effacement of self; the rich state that of union with the divine. Even Paradise and Houris, the object of the earnest desire of the ordinary believer, are to the true mystic as nothing; they are phenomenal, external to real unity—to 'Tauhid,

"While Heaven and Hell stand in your way,
How is your soul cognisant of this mystery?"

These deeper mysteries are only known in the ecstatic state—

"In this matter none can judge you,
For there is no leader of the sect here, save the Truth." †

It is true, that many use expressions and speak of these mysteries; but unless such persons really experience these ecstatic visions, Súfis hold that they are merely using cant terms, that they are

* طهر و اچيست صافي كشتن از خویش

هی لذت زهی دولت زهی ذرق * زهی حیرت زهی حالت زهی شوق
خوشا آدم که مایه خویش باشیم * غنی مطلق و درویش باشیم
زنده دین نه عقل نه تقوی نه ادراک * فدا ده ممست و حیران بر سر خاک
بُشت و خلد و دور انجا چه سنجد *

Gutshán-i-áz.

† این معنی کسی را بر تودق نیست * که حاجت مذهب اینجا غیر حق
نیست

guilty of merely following (taqlid) without knowing the real meaning of what they say or profess to do. But—

“Though all men reach not the mysteries of the mystic faith,
These mystic states are not mere illusion.” *

With this estimate of Hal Jelâl ud-dîn agrees—

‘Unless we see our friend, ’twere better we were blind,
A friend that is not constant ’s better out of mind.” †

The next stage is, Reality or Truth (Haqiqat). This is the stage known as Saintship, and is said to be exemplified in Saints and Prophets. In its most perfect form it is seen, according to Sûfis, in Muhammad, both Saint and Prophet.

“Individual Saints are, as it were, his members,

For he (Muhammad, is the whole and they are the parts.” ‡

The next stage is that of complete union (wasl) with the Divine. “Though absorbed in the ‘Truth,’ the Sâlik is still obedient as regards his essence, because by obedience he attained his exaltation.” Such is the commentary on

“The Saint is obedient as to his essence,
He is a devotee in the street of essence.”

And so he passes on to his true end—absorption in the eternal.

“Howbeit his work is finished at the time
That his end is joined again to his beginning.” §

Or again,

“Every man whose heart is free from doubt
Knows for a surety that there is no being but ‘One.’
Saying ‘I am’ belongs only to the ‘Truth.’
For essence is absent, and illusive appearance is absent,
The glory of the ‘Truth’ admits no duality.
In that glory is no ‘I’ or ‘We’ or ‘Thou’
‘I,’ ‘We,’ ‘Thou’ and ‘He’ are all one thing;
For in unity there is no distinction of persons” ||

نه هرکس یابد اسرار حقیقت * مجازی نیست احوال حقیقت *

Gulshân-i-Râz.

چونکه دید دوست نبود کور به * دوست کو باقی نباشد دور به †

Musnavî.

وجود اولیا او را چو عضو ند * که اولیست و ایشان همچو جزوند ‡

Gulshân-i-Râz.

بود تابع ولی از روی معذی * بود عابد ولی در کوی معنی §
ولی وقتی رسد کارش باتمام * که با آغاز گردد باز انجام

Ibid.

هرآنکس را که اندر دل شکی نیست * یقین داند که هستی جز یکی نیست ||
انانیت بود حق را سزاوار * که او غیبت و غایب و هم و پندار

Thus the perfect Súfi, the Wásil-i-Hakk, is one who has gained Wasal, which state is defined to be "the extinction of our own existence in the existence of God, as snow melts in the sea, and as motes vanish in the sun."

Jelál-ud-dín Rúmi uses an illustration, taken from a number of separate candles, each diffusing light; but whose brightness when all are brought together is not divisible—"One light alone we meet." So of the Saints—

"With God they're one; their forms but make Him manifest,
Thou seest the form alone, thy two eyes are at fault.
Look with thy soul; thou'lt see as God from heaven's vault.
Thy two sights will united be straightening in one,
When thou behold'st the light of God's eternal throne." *

Other mystics have used similar pantheistic language to describe this union with the Divine. Thus Tauler, in one of his sermons says:—"He (man) flings himself into the divine abyss, in which he dwelt eternally before he was created; then when God finds the man thus simply and nakedly turned towards Him, the Godhead bends down and descends into the depths of the pure waiting soul, and transforms the created soul, drawing it up into the uncreated essence, so the spirit becomes one with Him." †

"Rouse thyself to the height of religion and all veils are removed; the world and its dead principle passes away from thee, and the very Godhead enters thee anew in its first and original form, as life, as thine own life, which thou shalt and oughtest to live." ‡

We now pass on to the last stage, which is Faná, or extinction. Al-Aflaki gives the following account of Jelál-ud-din's last hours.

"Jelál observed: 'It is as my friends say. But, were they even to pull down the house, what use? See my panting heart, look at my delight. The sun sheds a grateful light on the moth,

جذاب حضرت حق را دوستی نیست * دران حضرت من وما و نوئی نیست
من و ما و تو و او هست یک چیز * که در وحدت نباشد هیچ تمیز

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

* پیش او یک گشت کز صورت براست *

چون بصورت بندگری چشمت دراست * تو بدورش در نگران یکتواست

نور هم در چشم نتوان فرق کرد * چونکه بدورش نظر انداخت مرد

Musnavi

† Vaughan's Hours with the Mystics, Vol. i, p. 290.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 212.

My friends invite me one way ; my teacher Shemsu-'d-din beckons me the other way. Comply ye with the summoner of the Lord, and have faith in Him. Departure is inevitable. All 'being' came out of nothing, and again it will be shut up in the prison of nullity. Such is God's decree from all eternity ; and the decree belongeth unto God, the most High, the All-Great ! ' "

The concluding words show the faith of the great master of Súfism in the doctrine of Faná :—

" Let thy existence in God's essence be enrolled
As copper in Alchemist's bath is turned to gold,
Quit ' I ' and ' We ' which o'er thy heart exert control
'Tis egotism, estranged from God, that clogs the soul."

There is a tradition to this effect : " Inspiration is light that descends into the heart and shows the nature of things as they really are." This the true Súfi realizes when he arrives at Faná—

" The ' Truth ' will then grant you whatsoever you ask,
And show you all things as they really are." *

In this stage, law and dogma have no place at all.

" Sleep overcomes alike the followers of each creed,
As water makes all mills to turn and grind, at need ;
The water flows from upward, down upon the mill
Its flowing through the trough is but man's want to fill.
No sooner has man's need been fully satisfied
He turns the water off ; straight in its bed its tied." †

" What use to formulate God's unity ?
What use to bow one's self before the Deity ?
Wouldst shine as brilliantly in sight of all,
Annihilate thy darksome self, thy being's pall." ‡

دید حق مرترا هراچه خواهی * نمایندت اشیا کماهی *

Gulshân-i-Râz.

چونکه جمع مستمع را جواب برد * سنگ های اسپارا اب برد †
رفتن این اب فوق اسپاست * رفتنش در اسیا بهر شماسست
چون شمارا حاجت طاحون نماید * اب را در جوی اصلي باز راند

Musnavi.

چیهست توحید خدا اموخته * خوبشتن را پدش واحد سوختن †
گرهمی خواهی که بفروزی چوروز * همستی همچون شب خود را

The Saint having now made the journey to God, and having through Faná entered into eternal life, or Baqá, now journeys down again in God.

"He is a perfect man, who in all perfection
Does the work of a slave in spite of his godliness."*

For in his downward journey the Saint must obey and observe the law. Whilst in Faná, the devotee is Majzúb-i-Mutlaq, Azád, or Be-shara', that is, the law has no dominion over him; but the more perfect pass on to "sobriety after intoxication."

"His end is joined again to his beginning." †

Then carrying with him 'the truth,' he descends again to phenomenal existence, and for the sake of example obeys law. Thus:—

"He may be likened to a pair of compasses
Ending in the same impression whence they begin." ‡

It is true that the law is represented as the husk and "complete union" as the kernel, and when the kernel ripens it breaks the husk; still the perfect man does not abide in this ecstatic union, but in the 'Truth'; He wears the law as an outward robe, adopts the Súfi mysteries as the rules of his path, checking the vagaries of the inner light by the guidance of the *Pir*, or spiritual Director, and so performs as 'counsels of perfection' certain outward legal observances.

This explains apparent contradictions in Súfi poetry. Sometimes the perfect man is described as above all law; at others, as when in the downward journey in God, as obedient to law. The 'Truth' in such is said, to be, as a seed, that is, it produces other disciples, who, then, and through the influence of the perfect Súfis, make the upward journey, and so the same circuit is being ever reproduced.

"Another shines, as a bright star still retaining the husk (of law),

When in this state, he makes another circuit (i. e., in his disciples.)" §

So it goes on and on until, "unto God shall all things return— (*Súra XVII-6.*)

* کسی مرد تماشاست کز تمامی * کند با خواجگی کار غلامی

Musnaví.

† باغزار گردد باز انجام †

‡ دگر باره شود مانند پرگار * بر آن کاری که اول بود درکار ‡

Gulshán-i-Ráz.

§ دگر با پوست یابد تابش خور * درین نشانه کند یک دور دیگر §

ibid

This concludes the subject which I have tried to explain from the Súfi standpoint. It is exceedingly difficult to treat it systematically, and in interpreting the verses I have quoted, it is not always possible to say to which stage of the mystic journey they refer. I may very possibly have misplaced some of them.

Though I have confined myself to the consideration of two books, yet what is brought together may be of use hereafter to some more competent student of the subject. I therefore proceed to no refutation of the system beyond stating that, whilst there is an element of mysticism in the inner spiritual life of the Christiano it is totally distinct from the spirit of Súfiism, for it recognizes the continued distinct personality of him who "in God lives and moves and has his being," or as Tennyson beautifully expresses it—

"That each who seems a separate whole,
Should move his rounds, and fusing all
The skirts of self again, should fall
Remerging in the general soul
Is faith as vague as all unsweet :
Eternal form shall still divide
The eternal soul from all beside ;
And I shall know Him when we meet,"

EDW. SELL.

ART. VIII.—BULANDSHAHR:—A DISTRICT SKETCH.

By F. R. GROWSE, C. I. E.

THE District of Bulandshahr was administered either from Aligarh or from Merath, for the first twenty years after the British conquest; * and, as a separate political unit, it dates only from the year 1824. Since then it is reckoned as one of the six that, together, make up the Merath Division † of the North-West Provinces. It consists of an oblong tract of almost absolutely level country, covering an area of 1,915 square miles, which is some 35 miles in breadth from north to south, and has an average length of 55 miles from the banks of the Jamuná on the west, to the Ganges on the east. A third river, the *Kálindi*, more commonly called the *Káli Nadi*, ‡ runs through its centre with a south-easterly direction, and divides it into two almost equal portions. The Karwan, the Patwaiy and the Chúiya, are these minor water-courses, which frequently become broad and rapid torrents in the rains; at all other times of the year their bed is a mere shallow depression in the soil, with scarcely distinguishable banks, and is generally brought under cultivation. At some remote period there seems reason to believe,

* After the fall of Aligarh in 1803, Baran and Khurja were first placed under Colonel Ochterlony, the Delhi Resident. In the following year they were made part of the Aligarh District, and so remained till 1818, when Baran and the Western Parganas were transferred to Merath; but this arrangement lasted only for six years.

† Commonly spelt 'Meerut,' for which Dr. Hunter in his Imperial Gazetteer proposes to substitute 'Mirath.' This, however, would be a very unsatisfactory correction. The word is identical with 'Mertha,' the name of an ancient hill-fort in Jodhpur. The first syllable 'mer' appears as a termination in Ajmer, Jaysalmer, &c., and means 'a hill.' The old town of Merath stands on a considerable elevation, though it would seem to be artificial.

‡ When the Hindi word had to be written in Persian or Urdu, the vowel in the second syllable was purposely lengthened by the Munshis in order the better to preserve its sound, and to prevent its degenerating into short *a*, as it soon would, were no vowel expressed. For a similar reason, the common Hindi termination *pūr*, meaning 'town,' is always written by Munshis with a long *u*, and the short vowels *e* and *i* in English Proper names are almost invariably lengthened in the process of transliteration. The stream thus became the *Kálindi*, from which the transition was easy to the more readily intelligible *Káli nadi*, 'Black river'; the pronunciation only being altered, since the written form of the two words *Kálindi* and *Káli nadi* in Persian characters is absolutely identical. The error is of respectable antiquity, as Yahy a bin Ahmad, the author of the Chronicle entitled the *Tárikh-i-Mubárah Sháhi*, written about the year 1450, translates the name into Persian by the phrase *Ab-i-Siyah*.

the Chúiya was a permanent stream, of much greater importance than now; for the sites of several ancient towns and forts, as at Chandokh, Indor, Chinávali and Dibháí, can be traced on its banks; and recently, on sinking a well in its bed, the soil at a depth of 33 feet was found to be full of small shells. It probably depended for existence on the primæval forests, and gradually dwindled away as they were cut down. It still occasionally asserts its old strength, and on the 19th of September 1880, it suddenly rose and swept away a large masonry bridge, near the town of Dibháí, which the Public Works Department had finished only a few months previously. Since the suppression of the Mutiny in 1858, Bulandshahr, for administrative purposes, has been entirely separated from Delhi, which now forms the capital of another Province, the Panjáb. But the historical and social connection between the two localities is not so easily to be severed. The towers and domes of the ancient metropolis are visible from the border of the district, and in modern, no less than in pre-historic, times the special characteristics of the neighbourhood are mainly due to the action of Imperial influences.

According to tradition, the original seat of the earliest Hindu dynasty, which proudly traced its descent from the mythical Regent of the Moon, was at Hastinapur, a name that still survives, but attaches only to a desolate group of shapeless mounds overlooking the old bed of the Ganges, some twenty-two miles north-east of the Merath Cantonments. When king Dhritarashtra divided his dominions between his hundred sons and five nephews, the latter, still famous in popular speech under their names of the Pandavas, founded Indra-prastha (now Indra-pat, or old Delhi) as one of their capitals, and gradually cleared the surrounding country both of its primæval forest and of the wild Nága tribes, who had made it their stronghold. On the termination of the internecine struggle, which forms the subject of the Mahábhárat, Yudhishthir, the last of the five brothers, again united the divided realm. He in course of time was succeeded on the throne of Hastinapur by Parikshit, the grandson of his brother Arjun; and to Parikshit's son, Jaumejoya, is ascribed the foundation of Ashári the oldest town in the district, from which he sent out a colony to build the fort of Baran, the modern Bulandshahr.

Thus, to Delhi chieftains are due the first reclamation of the soil and the first establishment of a social community, more than three thousand years ago: while at the present day the local magnates, more numerous here than in any other part of the province, are for the most part the descendants of Delhi courtiers, who obtained grants of land from the Emperors, either,

in recognition of their submission to the faith, or in reward for military services.

Thus the ancestor of the Biluch family at Jhájhar, now almost ruined by waste and litigation, was a companion-in-arms of Humáyun; another Biluch family, seated at Chandem, rose into importance as local governors under Aurangzeb, and a century later acquired the village where they now reside, as a reward for services against the Mahrattas; the wealthy and influential Lál Kháni family, now headed by the two Nawabs of Chhatán and Pahásu, and owning more than 200 villages in this and the adjoining districts, are descended from a Thakur of the Bergújar clan, who abjured Hinduism under Aurangzeb's imperial persuasion; the Pathans of Jahángirabad were connected with one of the principal commanders of the Mughal troops in the reign of Sháh Alam, and subsequently obtained a grant of land from Lord Lake; and, lastly, though the list might be extended to come down to the present day, the nucleus of the handsome estate now enjoyed by the fine old Afghan soldier, Saiyid Mir Khan, better known as the Sardár Bahádúr, was won by his gallantry, in the Kabul war, and was augmented in acknowledgment of his distinguished loyalty in the Mutiny.

The proximity to the Muhammedan centre of Government has not only largely affected the character of the entire population in the lower as well as in the higher classes, but has also had a considerable influence on the general aspect of the landscape. In dress, language, and caste-prejudices there is a conspicuous relaxation of customary Hindu usage, and till within the last few years, though every considerable village boasted a mosque of more or less pretension, a Hindu spire was seldom visible; the cry of the Muazzin had all but completely silenced the clang of the temple-bell and the boom of the devotee's conch. Now, that no active demonstration of religious intolerance is permitted, and every sect is allowed to practise its own rites and ceremonies, under the equal protection of the law, it is not to be expected but that the Hindus, who number 748,256 out of a total population of 924,822, will gradually begin to re-assert themselves. The trade of the towns is entirely in their hands, but the prestige that attaches to ownership of the land is mainly on the side of Islám. Though the surface of the stream may appear abnormally smooth, there is a strong under-current of jealousy, faction and intrigue, which rash experiments in administration would speedily develop into a very real danger.

In point of population, as recorded by the census of 1881

the district stands sixteenth in the list of 49 which, together, constitute the United Provinces. But by the License Tax assessments, which are the most trustworthy test of general prosperity, it comes as high as fourth, having only Cawnpur, Merath and Aligarh above it. This remarkable pre-eminence is due to a variety of causes, the principal being the lightness of the Government demand under the head of land-revenue. The existing settlement was completed in 1865, and will expire in 1889; when it is estimated that the demand will advance from a little over $13\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs to at least 18. This event is naturally anticipated by the landlords with some little perturbation; but while they appreciate the manifold advantages to themselves of the present golden age, they also recognise the right of the State to participate in the general increase of agricultural well-being. Great attention has been paid by the staff of district officials to the maintenance of the village maps and records of crops and rents, and—when the time comes for the new assessment—it is hoped that these papers will form a sufficient basis for all the necessary calculations. If so, the Government will save the large cost of a special establishment for a period of several years (the last settlement and its revision lasted from 1856 to 1870!) the people will escape a vast amount of annoyance and litigation, and the land will not be thrown out of cultivation, or denied improvements, in the fraudulent hope of concealing its capabilities. In no district as yet has any such summary procedure been found possible; if it is sanctioned for Bulandshahr, and works well, it will be a matter for unqualified congratulation.

The soil, which is naturally fertile, and of very uniform character, has the further advantage of almost universal protection from drought; being largely capable of artificial irrigation from the distributories of the Ganges Canal. This flows through the whole breadth of the district in three wide, and nearly parallel branches, one to the east, the other two, to the west of the central Kálindi. Thus, the terrible famine of 1877 was here almost unfelt. No poor-houses or relief works had to be started by Government, nor had any steps to be taken to stimulate the importation of food-stuffs. The grain accumulated in more prosperous seasons, was extracted from the pits in which it had been buried, and sold greatly to the profit of the dealer, but, at the same time, not at utterly prohibitory prices; while the credit of the tenant still remained so good, that he was able, if, necessary, to negotiate a temporary loan without permanent embarrassment. Gangs of starving vagrants from Mathurá, Bharatpur, and other centres of distress, plodded along the main

roads; but the able bodied among them gradually found work in the Municipalities or elsewhere, and the utterly helpless were kept alive by the daily dole of food that was freely given by the larger landed proprietors in the villages, and by wealthy traders in the towns. It may, therefore, be considered as established by a recent and crucial test, that the district is practically secure against any ordinary calamity. But to map out the entire area—as has been proposed—in deeper and lighter shades of color according to a nice calculation of possibilities, and to determine, once for all, that such and such tracts will be entitled to relief in time of drought, and that others can always do without it, seems as unpractical a project as an attempt to construct a permanent chart of the clouds in the sky. If accurate observations are maintained, the occurrence of a storm and its probable intensity may be predicted, and precautions taken to minimize the danger; but circumstances must be treated as they arise, and no region in the world, by virtue of long previous exemption from misfortunes, can be marked off as absolutely secure for ever from special visitations of Providence. Inflexible routine may be a welcome support to a feeble administrator, but it is simply an embarrassment to a competent one; while legislation in itself is always an evil, and our Indian land-laws, above all, have had the disastrous effect of inflicting permanent injury on the class whom they were chiefly intended to benefit. When left to their own good feelings, the landlords, as a rule, are disposed to treat their tenants, in times of difficulty, with the same liberality that they exhibit in the other ordinary relations of life: it is only when the law confronts them with its rigid impersonality that they refuse to listen any longer to the voice of equity.

The great curse of the district is the prevalence of fever, an evil which must in part be attributed to what is otherwise so signal a boon,—the large extension of canal irrigation. In the autumn of 1879, an unusually heavy rainfall, following upon several years of drought, developed a terrible epidemic, which literally more than decimated the population. The crops stood uncut in the fields, the shops remained closed in the bazars; there was no traffic along the high roads, and no hum of business in the market-places; the receding flood of the great rivers showed their sands piled with corpses, while scarcely a water-course or wayside ditch but contained some ghastly relics of humanity, hastily dropt by hireling bearers, or even by friends, too fearful for themselves, or too enfeebled by sickness to observe the funeral rites that are ordinarily held so sacred. In most of the towns and villages there was not a single house in which there was not one dead; in many, entire families had perished,—

parents, grand-parents and children,—and whole streets became deserted. Probably, not a thousand people in all, from one end of the district to the other, escaped without some touch of the disease. The Pargana least affected was Ahár, which then by equitable decree enjoyed its compensation for many permanent disadvantages. It is a narrow tract of country, running along the high bank of the Ganges, with a poor soil inadequately watered and ill provided with roads, and which thus offers no attractions for the investment of capital on the part, either of traders or land-owners.

As a result of the general mortality, the population which had been 937,427 in 1871, and since then had hugely increased, fell in 1881 to 924,882; the solitary town in the whole district which showed any augmentation being Bulandshahr itself, which rose from 14,804 to 17,863. Still, distressing as it was at the time, the epidemic ran its course and left no lasting effects behind. On the contrary, the result was rather one of relief from overcrowding, and when the period of depression had passed, a large increase in the birth-rate showed that it was chiefly the very old, or young, or infirm, who had been removed, and that the actual vigour of the community remained unimpaired.

Much has been done of late years by the irrigation department to correct the excessive humidity which has been caused by their canals, and extensive schemes for the relief of the most low-lying and water-logged lands have either been carried out or are still in progress. More than 150 miles of drainage cuts have been excavated; the Kálinđi has been straightened and kept within its banks, at a cost of Rs. 94,757, and similar operations are now being commenced on the Kanwan. All this must have a beneficial effect on the general atmosphere; but the special conditions of the towns and villages are so unfavourable, that many years must elapse before any marked improvement can be expected in their vital statistics. The whole surface of the country is a dead level, with the population massed in artificial depressions, which have been dug to supply the earth for building purposes. The houses, instead of being raised—as sanitary laws would require—are sunk some two or three feet below the level of the ground, and the sides of the pit form the basement of the walls. To complete the necessary height, mud is mixed and brought in from any waste spot near at hand. The result is, that the village itself stands in a hole, and is hemmed in by an irregular circle of trenches used as receptacles for every kind of abomination. Add to this, that herds of cattle every evening return to the homestead, and during the night share the same quarters with their masters. The soil is thus in the course of years

saturated with impurities, and, as it is the custom to sleep either on the ground or on a very low pallet, it is no matter for surprise that the annual victims of fever are more than of all other diseases combined.

In the majority of cases, it is not altogether poverty that is responsible for the utter want of domestic comfort, but rather an apathetic acquiescence in a degraded standard of social life arising from ignorance that anything better is obtainable. The characteristic oriental craving for decoration is frequently indicated by the carving of the wooden eaves and brackets and by the plaster niches and mouldings of the doorways, which, though rude in execution, are often of appropriate and picturesque design; but there is no appreciation whatever of cleanliness or ventilation, and no effort is made to secure them. In a really rich man's house the latter defect is equally conspicuous; the courtyards are larger and the buildings are substantial, but the arrangements for conservancy are not a whit better, and there is generally much less evidence of taste, in consequence of a vicious tendency to abandon the indigenous style and copy the hideous vulgarisms of the Public Works Department. Before the people of India can claim to rank on an equality with Europeans, it is above all things necessary that they should reform their domestic habits of life; when they have learnt to order these matters aright, their political enfranchisement will follow spontaneously on their capacity for it, the reverse process must be unreal and can only eventuate in failure.

Next to the unhealthy condition of their homes, the two institutions that most conduce to the propagation of disease are pilgrimages and marriage-feasts. Both practices have their root in the intolerable monotony of ordinary existence, which grasps at any change for a relief, but disguises the real motive by an affectation of religious or social obligation. Closely packed in bullock carts or some other equally clumsy vehicle, the guests start in straggling procession, and jog along the weary roads for the distance of a hundred miles or more, halting only for an hour or two at an occasional well for a draught of water and a mouthful of parched grain. Aching in every limb from the jolting of the springless cart and the cramped position into which they have been squeezed, choked with dust, dizzy from the glare of the sun and want of sufficient food, for they purposely starve themselves in order to do more justice to the feast, they at last arrive at their journey's end. Here no accommodation has been provided for them, and no amusement, beyond enormous piles of indigestible food, with which they gorge themselves without intermission for three days and nights, freely abusing their host,

should there be any shortcoming, and then start on the homeward journey, to endure the same discomforts as before, now aggravated by the agonies of indigestion. Every year half the outbreaks of cholera that occur may be traced up to these ghastly merry-makings. At pilgrimages there is no over-eating, but the exposure and the crowding are greater, and an essential part of the proceedings generally consist in drinking some filthy water from a turbid stream or stagnant tank of reputed sanctity, where thousands of people have been bathing. On neither occasion is there any thought of pleasing the eyes or gratifying the mind, except by the excitement inseparable from being one of a crowd which is moved by a common object.

If the sordid discomfort of home were relieved by some element of culture, people would no longer look abroad for their enjoyments. They would be happier and healthier, nor would the ultimate cost of living be increased. Instead of money being hoarded for special occasions, and then squandered in thankless and unprofitable profusion, it would be distributed with judicious economy over the whole area of domestic requirements. Food, clothing, shelter and education are comparatively so cheap, that all but the very poorest could rear a family in a decent and respectable manner, if it were not for the extravagant outlay on marriages. The various attempts that have been made to enforce the reduction of such expenses are well-meaning, but have not achieved much success, nor do I think they are ever likely to do so. The root of the evil lies deeper, and it is that which has to be attacked. Make the general aspect of life more attractive, and there will then be less desire to smirch it with crude blotches of colour.

The recent advance in the general prosperity of the district has been faithfully reflected step by step, and year after year in the annual Criminal Returns; for in India, as in England, to use the words of Tennyson's Northern Farmer, " 'Tisn't them as has money that breaks into houses and steals." But anomalies of all kinds, however gratifying may be the exceptional circumstances which they indicate, are always *per se* displeasing to the compiler of official statistics at head-quarters; for he has no personal concern with the facts, and is interested only in the symmetrical appearance of the figures exhibited in his tabular statements. A conventional explanation of the discrepancy has therefore to be found in an alleged concealment of offences. There is, however, no good reason for supposing that the people are more unwilling here than elsewhere to invoke the assistance of the Police for the recovery of stolen property, or the redress of any real injury. A murder or a burglary can scarcely be committed without attract-

ing attention, and if in the case of petty disputes there is a reluctance to waste time and money by coming into court about them, such a habit of mind is rather to be encouraged than condemned.*

Another matter in which the district falls short of official requirements is the consumption of spirituous liquor. Temperance is a virtue, in which the excise authorities are by no means ready to believe. If the revenue is not up to the ordinary standard, the only explanation of the fact that they will accept is smuggling. But in spite of exceptional vigilance, an evasion of the law is very rarely detected, and probably is rarely practised. The absence of drunkenness and the absence of crime go together and explain each other. If a tempting array of bottles were displayed at selected spots along the most frequented thoroughfares, many a dusty pedestrian might be induced to assuage his thirst with a draught, and so acquire a taste which would eventually be beneficial to the excise revenue. A similar result might follow from an increase of the number of drinking-shops in the towns and large villages, to serve as social clubs for the dissolute; but the advantage to the respectable community may be doubted, while the gain to Government would be more than counterbalanced by the charges of extra police and increased jail accommodation. With a large number of wealthy landed proprietors, mostly Mahomedans, living on their own estate, in the midst of their own tenantry, as many as thirteen of them exercising the powers of Honorary Magistrates and ready to report any suspicious circumstance they may observe; with the whole population singularly well to do and largely impregnated with Muhammadan ideas of social propriety; and with whole tribes ordinarily reputed criminal, forsaking their old predatory habits for the more assured profits of honest husbandry, it would be strange, indeed, if the district statistics coincided precisely with those of other localities where industry and sobriety are not so conspicuously remunerative.

* It is satisfactory to observe that the altered condition of things has at last been recognized. Mr. Webster, the Inspector-General of Police, who was Magistrate of Bulandshahr from 1863 to 1866, writes as follows in his review of the year 1882:—"The circumstances of the people have changed greatly. They are far more prosperous than they were; cultivation has greatly extended, and large tracts which were grass jungles when I knew the district, and which harboured cattle-stealers and their booty, are now well cultivated corn-lands; and what is more important as regards the cessation of crime, the very persons who used these lands as asylums in their thieving forages are now the cultivators of them. The Gujars, who used to commit at least a third of all the crime in the district are now to a certain extent reformed, and only occasionally vary their agricultural pursuits by an expedition for the purposes of cattle or other theft."

In addition to the many advantages already enumerated, the district is well provided with communications, having as many as seven Railway Stations, four on the East Indian and three on the Oudh and Rohilkhand line. It is also traversed by the Grand Trunk Road from the Aligarh to the Delhi border, and has a complete net-work of minor thoroughfares radiating in every direction from the town of Bulandshahr, which occupies the exact centre of the whole area. A few years ago, during one of the periodical financial panics, several of the roads were summarily condemned by the head of the Public Works Department, and broken up at considerable expense ; but their construction will be one of the first acts of the new Local Committee. The greatest obstacle to freedom of communication has hitherto been the Kalindi, which has a permanent bridge only at Bulandshahr, and no bridge or ferry of any kind whatever between that town and Hapur in the Meerath district, a distance of about 30 miles. As the banks are high and sudden floods frequent, it is never safe for a traveller to reckon on the possibility of a passage, and the obstruction to traffic has thus been most serious. This is now being removed by the munificence of one of the Honorary Magistrates, Saiyid Mubín Ali, who is constructing a substantial bridge near the town of Gulásthí, where his residence is, at an estimated cost of Rs. 20,000.

In such a quiet and prosperous part of the country, where there is no great injustice to correct, or practical grievance to remedy, it seems the height of unwisdom to be for ever introducing new laws and systems of administration, which, however admirable in theory, have never been recognized as wants by the people themselves. What they require of Government is the strong maintenance of order, and the persistent extension of material improvements. These are boons which they can understand and appreciate far more highly than the invidiousness of the franchise and the anarchy of self-Government. Under sympathetic guidance, they are capable of great and rapid advance, but without direction of some sort, they are absolutely powerless. They can admire action in others, but without a strong stimulus are loth to engage in it themselves ; their philosophic literature shows that they can rival the profoundest German professor in tracking the abysses of transcendental speculation ; and with a little practice there can be no doubt that they would soon become as expert as a Frenchman in the elaboration of paper constitutions, and the technical conduct of a debating society ; but in the palmiest days of their independence they never had a metalled road in the largest of their cities, nor a swinging punkha in the most luxurious of their palaces. And these are the typical blessings, which it is the province of the British Government to supply.

In the matter of school education, official efforts have not been attended with very brilliant success. The real civilizing influences, that within the last few years have so largely modified the thoughts and habits of the people, have been the Post and the Railway. Their beneficial stimulus has been felt universally; while the effect of our schools has been limited to a single class, and that numerically the smallest and politically the least important. Every head of a department is beset by a crowd of applicants for clerical employ, who have been taught at the public expense to read and write in the Persian character, and who consider that they have thus established a claim to maintenance for life in some Government office. Certainly, their acquirements would not often stand them in such stead in any other vocation. They have never learnt to think, and have totally lost both the faculty of observation and the instructive propriety of taste which in the uneducated Oriental so often compensate for the want of scholastic training.

Our course of instruction is not calculated to satisfy the modest requirements of the yeoman, the artizan, the trader, and generally the independent middle classes, which ought to supply the material for those local boards which the Government is now so anxious to organize. What primary instruction is given is not regarded as a possible end in itself, but only as a means to passing an examination. A little reflection must show that this is exactly the reverse of what is wanted. Instead of a teacher priding himself on the number of his pupils who have got Government appointments, it would be far more to the purpose if he could boast a long list of boys who, after learning to read, write, and cypher, had settled down contentedly to their hereditary occupations, and had proved the value of education by turning out their work in a more intelligent style than their fathers had done before them. This would be a guarantee of genuine progress, and would check that rapid decay of all indigenous arts and manufactures which is the necessary result of our pernicious system of schooling, which aims at converting all the rising generation into mere office clerks.

There is no occasion whatever for the Government to take up this line of business. If all our village schools were to be closed to-morrow, the only function they adequately discharge, *viz.*, the training of Munshis for Government service, would be carried on by private enterprise with much the same results as at present. A craving for vernacular education by people who can earn their bread without it is the very last want that is felt by an ordinary community. There were schools for teaching Latin in England for centuries before the idea was entertained that the masses required to be taught English. A similar superstition

survives in India, and we encourage it by our village schools for Persian and Urdu. We exhaust the resources of Government in making a free gift of professional training to people who are quite able to provide it for themselves, instead of applying all our means to the diffusion of a simple vernacular education, far more important in its effects on national progress, but less productive of immediate individual advancement, and therefore at once more deserving of, and more dependent on, State patronage. Even in such a Muhammadanized district as that in which I am writing, more than half the members of the different municipal committees can read only the true vernacular character of the country, *i e.*, the Nāgri. In the proposed rural tahsili committees the proportion would be still higher. Such men, having never been brought under the influence of our schools, cannot undertake the management of affairs in accordance with European ideas, and are necessarily quite unable to follow and check intricate accounts which are kept only in Persian and English. If left to themselves, they will either do nothing, or else, in all that they do, they will be absolutely at the mercy of their paid clerk.

The remedies that I would propose for these admitted evils, are two. In the first place, I would do away with the present system of Government inspection and put the primary schools of every district under the absolute control of the local committee, at the same time increasing the staff of the Deputy Inspectors, who would then be Deputies no longer, and the Sub-Inspectors. Not only, as has often been pointed out, are the Inspectors much too highly cultivated for the drudgery that devolves upon them, but in every country Government inspection has the inevitable result of raising the standard, which in primary schools is exactly what is not wanted. The effect of the Education Act of 1870 in England is vitiated by the same incurable tendency: the Board schools, which were intended for the poor, have gradually become suitable only for the lower middle classes, for whose benefit it was quite unnecessary that the whole community should be taxed. Secondly, the only character that I would allow to be taught in primary schools is the Nāgri. This—to say the least—answers as well as any other for all the ordinary requirements of rural life, and it has the special advantage that it does not qualify for any kind of Government service. The Persian character would be taught, as now, in the pargana and tahsili schools, and boys who wished to learn it could proceed there, after undergoing the prescribed course of instruction in the primary school. It appears to me that nothing could be more equitable than this arrangement: Hindus would be gratified by having Hindi recognized as the basis of the vernacular, while the Muhammadan

phase of the language would still retain the stamp of official currency.

As regards the language question, I have no patience with the continued use of the fantastic word Urdu. What people talk all over these provinces is Hindustani, which, when *written*, takes a Persianized form among Muhammadans and a Hindi form among Hindus. In both phases it has a Hindi basis, which cannot be got rid of even in the most artificial Urdu; on the other hand, a multitude of Persian words have been naturalized in its common vocabulary, which even in Hindi it would be pedantic to ignore. As it is already the general medium of intercourse throughout India, all Indian races may eventually be brought to accept it, and therefore the recognition of a multiplicity of spoken dialects as distinct literary languages is much to be deprecated. The best means of checking the growing divergence between Hindustani and other Indian vernaculars would perhaps be found in the institution of an academy of orientalists, who would authoritatively settle the renderings to be adopted for new terms of European art and science. But the universal acceptance of a neutralized Hindustani, involving a complete reconciliation between Urdu and Hindi, can only be effected in one way. So long as the vernacular is written by Munshis in the Persian, and by Pandits in the Nāgri character, it is utterly impossible that purism should be eradicated. The one party will indent on Persian and Arabic for their vocabulary, the other on Sanskrit; and though the grammatical structure may be much the same in both compositions, neither of the two will be intelligible to the writer of the other. The adoption of the Roman character would at once remove the whole difficulty; and if it were introduced in our schools, it would rapidly, without any forcing, supersede both its rivals as the vehicle for ordinary written communication.

I have already alluded to the decay of native arts and manufactures, for which our faulty system of education is partly responsible. Something is being done towards their revival by Schools of Design and by local Exhibitions, as at Lahor, Bombay and elsewhere. But, so long as the dreadful upas tree of the public Works Department is allowed to overshadow the country, sporadic efforts like these can have no perceptible effect on popular culture. Architecture is the first of all the decorative arts, and its degradation paralyses them all. Our public buildings, which with scarcely an exception are either ludicrously mean or obtrusively hideous, now occupy conspicuous positions in every station and municipality, and, being naturally accepted as models for imitation, are rapidly accustoming the native eye to what is vulgar and tasteless. What

weight in the opposite scale can be attributed to the teaching of a few schools or an occasional grant for the restoration of an ancient palace or temple? If there is really a desire to revive oriental art, I believe it can be done without the fussy agency of a department and without any expense to the State, simply by allowing municipal committees to erect their own buildings to make each Town Hall an emporium of local industry, and generally to develop indigenous talent by the exercise of judicious patronage. In technical as well as in the higher literary education, I believe that a healthy influence can be exerted by Government only from the outside, by removing artificial restrictions and encouraging spontaneous action. In primary education, on the other hand, the whole burden must fall on the State ; but, by a simplification of the machinery, the cost and labour may be rendered much less than at present and the outturn much larger and of a more durable quality.

A notable stimulus has been given to indigenous industry by a local show, which was started by a former Collector, Mr. Willock, in 1873. It is supported by voluntary subscriptions which amount every year to upwards of Rs. 4,000. As a horse fair, it has succeeded so well, that it now receives an annual Government grant of Rs. 1,250 for prizes, and attracts remount officers from all parts of India. As regards agricultural produce, greater care is taken than before in the selection of grain for seed, so that Bulandshahr wheat is very largely exported and is quoted at high prices in the London market. Attention to the subject of cattle breeding is encouraged by a special Government grant of Rs. 100, but no improvement has yet been effected. As fodder becomes every year scarcer and dearer, the people must gradually reduce the extravagant number of miserable half-starved animals that they are now in the habit of keeping. With a smaller stock, of better quality, the compulsory reservation of grazing ground in every village will be most beneficial, but if it is started immediately, before the small farmers have fully realized how impossible it is for them, under the altered circumstances of the country, to support a large herd in good condition, the effect will probably be only to intensify the present evil. Until the breed of cattle has been improved, it is premature to attempt any improvement in the native plough. The arts and manufactures represented at the district show were, till lately, ludicrous and puerile. This department has now made great bounds: the Sikanderabad muslins, the Jewar *durries* and rugs, the Khurja pottery, the Jahangirabad cotton prints and the Bulandshahr wood-carving are revivals or developments

which are achieving a more than local reputation, and will all be represented at the forthcoming Calcutta Exhibition.

If in a native State, administration is ruined by caprice, still more so is it in British India by routine and returns. This is most conspicuously illustrated by the department of Public Works. For large imperial undertakings, such as railways, bridges over the great rivers, military roads extending the whole length of the province, and barracks for European soldiers, it is desirable to maintain an adequate staff of European Engineers. But for the ordinary requirements of a civil district, local native talent would be not only more economical, but also more efficient. The masons who reared the tombs and palaces that are still the most notable sights in the country, have direct descendants at the present day, in the creators, for instance, of modern Mathurá, which dates entirely from the beginning of this century, and justly ranks as one of the handsomest cities in northern India. If men of this stamp were allowed to design and execute our district buildings, the promotion of indigenous industry would become so far a reality, instead of a transparent fiction as hitherto. The only difficulty lies in their inability to satisfy departmental requirements in the matter of tabular statements and returns. These are based on an intricate and voluminous system of checks and counterchecks, which it requires some years' training to master, and assiduous labour to maintain. The entire energy of the whole establishment is concentrated on the manipulation of the accounts, and the works are left to look after themselves. However badly the latter may turn out, if only they cost enough, they will make an imposing show on paper at the year's end, and will be regarded with complete satisfaction by the supreme authorities. For example, the completion of an embankment along the right bank of the Kálindi for the protection of the town of Bulandshahr, was specially mentioned in an annual report as an important work of public utility. The cost was Rs. 4,000 : it was not added, perhaps it was not known, that the actual benefit was less than *nil*. In order to construct it, earth was dug from the town side, and the level of the ground was thus reduced below that of the bed of the river. The result was that for some years the drainage from the surrounding country collected, as in a basin, and was barred from all escape. The nuisance was partially remedied by the great flood of 1880, which breached the embankment in several places, thus proving it to be as powerless against the river in exceptional seasons, as it was effective for mischief in ordinary years. This is a fair sample of the injurious results of

a policy which entrusts district works to irresponsible provincial agency ; irresponsible, because the local authorities are powerless to interfere, while the departmental authorities—sublimely indifferent to such petty undertakings—see only the neatly tabulated entries in the official return, and these they complacently pass as quite *en regle*. Besides the embankment and some new barracks in the jail, the only other original work that has been executed by professional engineers during my tenure of office in this district, is the bridge, which, as already mentioned, fell down a few months after it was finished. In the extensive series of improvements, which in the course of four years have converted a mean village into a handsome town, the department has had no hand whatever, except that it greatly delayed their commencement by representing to the Government, with stupendous effrontery, that the result would be “an eye-sore.”

Facts will never run off so smoothly as mathematical abstractions, and, therefore, to avoid friction, it is generally found advisable to adhere to the latter. The district officer signs these fancy documents by scores at a time, in duplicate or triplicate, at the top or the bottom, on the face or the reverse, in the blank spaces indicated by the engineer, and can only hope they are technically correct ; for the purposes of actual check he keeps a simple statement of his own, which may be very unscientific, but is at least intelligible. About the middle of the month, when the returns have all been despatched and objections answered, the European Engineer feels a little at leisure, and drives out to see the bridge, or road, that may be in progress, gives a few hurried instructions, which he cannot stop to see carried out, and returns into the station, where he presents his bill for travelling allowance, at the rate of eight annas a mile. If there were only simple returns, such as the Magistrate himself could keep, without the assistance of a trained accountant, the engineer might be a native, who could hire for a couple of rupees an ekka or a poney that would take him to the remotest part of the district, where he could spend a day or two in the leisurely inspection of work, finding all the accommodation he required in some neighbouring village. His pay also would be counted by tens of rupees instead of by hundreds ; and, as his supervision would be more continuous, there would be more of day-labour and less necessity for the employment of contractors, middle-men and munshis. These are the only people who profit by the high rates which prevail in the Department of Public Works. If the money went to the bricklayer, the mason, or the carpenter, there would be less cause for regret ; but the whole present system seems to have been invented solely

for the benefit of that very unprofitable person, the artificial product of our mistaken school policy, the Munshi, the parasite of the real working community. If the position of the latter were improved and their work recognised at its proper value, as in England, the son of a skilled artizan would not think to better himself, as now unfortunately he often does, by abandoning his hereditary occupation and becoming a quill-driver in an office.

The disbandment of the whole corps of executive and assistant engineers would not only be the greatest possible boon to the districts, but would even be welcomed by themselves, if due regard were had to vested interests and appointments of equal emolument found for them in a more appropriate sphere. The officers of the Roads and Building Department are the one body of Government servants in the country who notoriously have no heart in their work. It is impossible that they should have. Though by profession engineers, they are in fact merely accountants' clerks. Of all the multitudinous circulars that year by year are issued for their guidance, scarcely one per cent. refer to matters of construction. The rest are complicated rules of procedure as to filling in returns; corrections of misprints or explanations of unintelligible phraseology in previous orders, or most frequently of all, fulminations of the direst penalties against any attempt to exercise independent judgment. The one exception is probably either puerile or mischievous; such as an elaborate specification and sketch of a child's tub, that was circulated not very long ago, with a sharp metal edge to it, which might be warranted to draw blood whenever used.

Again, what little work a District Engineer has to do out of his office, is profoundly uninteresting. The maintenance of a road is a task that requires no great intellect or skill, and in England would be entrusted to quite a subordinate; while in the matter of buildings, there is no scope for the exercise of taste or ingenuity, standard plans having been provided, from which no deviation is allowed, whatever may be the differences in the locality and nature of the site. The consideration of such particulars is of less importance than might at first be imagined; for the designs have been so skilfully contrived as to be equally unsuitable wherever they may be placed. For a man with the slightest element of humanity and good taste in his composition, it must be unspeakable misery to superintend the construction of edifices which will not only cause daily discomfort to the unfortunate officials who are doomed to use them, but will also permanently disfigure the landscape and pervert the indigenous sentiment of architectural propriety. The only in-

nocent and legitimate source of gratification, of which the circumstances admit, lies in totalling up the number of miles for which travelling allowance can be drawn. On the other hand, no more devoted body of public servants exists than the Engineers in the Canal Department. They are taken from precisely the same class of men as their brethren on the roads; but they are less hampered by accounts; in dealing with such a subtle element as water, they are constantly confronted by unforeseen complications which afford exercise for ingenuity; and they have something in which they can take an honest pride, if at the end of each successive year their returns show a larger area to which they have extended the blessings of irrigation.

In a district like Bulandshahr, with many rich, liberal, and fairly well educated members of the native aristocracy, not gathered together in a few large towns, but residing on their own estates in all parts of the county, it would be an easy matter to constitute an influential and really representative Committee for the administration of local interests. Nothing, however, could be more pitifully unreal than the Committee actually existing. It is supposed to have at its disposal an annual income of over Rs. 70,000; but almost the whole of this considerable sum is absorbed by fixed charges, or has to be expended by departmental agency. A single item of about Rs. 2,500 for petty original works is all that the Committee can call absolutely its own, and can spend on projects of its own selection. If in any year this item is omitted from the budget, the Committee is then debarred from any the slightest exercise of independent judgment. Being entirely supported by arbitrary allotments, it gains nothing by judicious management; for whatever may be so realized, is merged in Provincial funds, and no benefit accrues to the district. With resources of its own, a more complete control over a less extended area, and a system of accounts which it could understand, the Committee would rapidly develop into a genuine district council, a seat in which would be highly coveted, not only as a personal distinction, but for the substantial responsibilities that it involved. The sense of local power would act as a strong stimulus to local usefulness, and spontaneous beneficial enterprise would relieve the State of many burdens now unfairly forced upon it. No reasonable person will voluntarily drop his money into the bottomless pit of a Government department, the mouth of which is so barred by checks and counterchecks that extrication can only be effected by much technical dexterity, and after the endurance of long delay. But, if the committee had greater freedom, it would soon acquire the confidence of the public, and become

the ordinary channel for the distribution of the many streams of private benevolence, which are now too often wasted for want of effective direction.

It is one of the most convincing proofs of the general incapacity for self-government, that in many towns and villages, accumulated funds are often left unutilized, and local improvements that every one desires, are unexecuted, simply on account of jealousy and a want of mutual confidence. If the district officer will take upon himself the responsibility of administration, the community is only too glad to place the money at his disposal and to supplement it by further subscriptions. They will not trust it to any one of themselves; and if the new road, or tank, or market-place, or whatever it may be, involves, as it generally will, the demolition of a house or two and the appropriation of the site, the owners will resist to the utmost of their power any requisition advanced by their neighbours, but will at once, and in a most liberal spirit, fall in with the wishes of a European officer. It is not that any compulsion is used, for complaint would be immediately entertained in the Civil Court, but they have confidence in their rulers, and believe them to act from more impersonal and disinterested motives than they attribute to their own townsmen.

If used as a supplement and an incentive to private enterprise and benevolence, the surplus funds of the Municipalities and Act XX. towns might be made far more generally beneficial than they ordinarily are. During the last four years the improvements that have been effected in all the principal towns of this district are so enormous, that every visitor enquires with amazement where the money has come from. Immediate supervision, with no contractors and middle-men, and no large establishments for the elaboration of accounts and returns, has so far reduced the actual outlay, that it is much below the ordinary estimate for works of such magnitude; but the great secret lies in the persistent adoption of the principle, that no public improvement should be undertaken unless voluntary subscriptions are forthcoming as well as State aid. But in order for this system to succeed, it is necessary to be in sympathetic accord with the people, and not to force upon them anything opposed to their prejudices, or greatly in advance of their real requirements. Though themselves illiterate and indifferent to the laws of hygiene, they are quite sensible of the value of education for their children and of the advantages to be derived from bridged and avenued roads, convenient tanks and ghats for bathing purposes, good wells, clean paved streets, commodious market-places, and substantial water-tight houses. In all such works as

these, the majority of the people concerned are always ready to co-operate, and even the obstructive minority will in the end be gratified by the result. Instead of the impracticable dream of self-government, if only a modest scheme of decentralization were introduced, every District Committee, without the worry and delay of repeated references for sanction to higher authority, would have certain limited funds of its own to lay out in the furtherance of local projects and the encouragement of native enterprise. The result would be a great and immediate saving in State expenditure, and the eventual development of a public spirit, which would be a real qualification for higher political responsibilities.

ART. XI.—THE KANJARS OF UPPER INDIA.

THE present article is an attempt to piece together such scraps of information as could be collected on the manners, industries, religion, and traditions of the Kanjara tribe,—a tribe which is itself found only in scraps or fragmentary groups, scattered among the different districts of Upper India, and is one of the few surviving remains of the old wandering and predatory nations, by whom the entire country was peopled in the earliest times. As little or no information could be collected from books, almost all the facts hereinafter described are the results of personal observation, or of direct enquiry made from Kanjars themselves.

The largest account of this people that I have seen in print is that contained in the late Mr. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, p. 389. This account does not fill one entire page, and a good deal of the space is taken up with giving the names of the seven clans, into which Kanjars are nominally divided.

Kanjara is the name by which the hunting and roving clans of Upper India are most widely known; though according to the returns of the census taken in 1881, the Kanjar tribe is less numerous in the North-West and Oudh than the Baurias, Cháís, Thárus, Nats, Banmánush, and Kols,—all of whom are approximately in the same backward stage of culture. The term Kanjara is often loosely applied to other tribes, who call themselves by a different name, but lead a similar life. The name does not appear among the savages of the Punjab.* But roving tribes bearing this name are found in Rajputana, † in Behar, ‡ in Bengal as Gangwar, § and in the Deccan as Kanjar, Zingar, or Jingar. || The name "Kanjara" re-appears in various forms, not only in India but in those countries of Europe, which have been invaded by

* The tribes in the Punjab, corresponding to the Kanjars of Hindustan, are the Sansis and Bauriyas.

† *Sherring's Castes*, Vol. III, p. 62.

‡ *Bengal Census Report for 1872*, p. 158, where they are said to be very numerous in the Purneah district.

§ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VII, Article 19, p. 457. Here the Gangwars are said to be a clan of Nats. But it is well known that Nats in many of their habits closely resemble Kanjars.

|| The Kanjars are described as a wild tribe, living in the jungles between Nagpur and the Warda rivers in *Sherring's Castes*, Vol. II, p. 155. The same writer mentions the Zingars or Jingars in Vol. II, p. 123, as artizans of an inferior order. The two statements are not contradictory, but rather confirm each other.

Gipsy tribes from the East. Thus in Roumelia these tribes are called Cingarees ; in Roumania, Tschingenes ; in Hungary, Tzigany ; in Italy, Cingari ; and in Spain, Zineáro. The German " Zigeuner " for vagrant, and the English " Conjurer " for juggler, may perhaps (though other etymologies are given) be derived from the same root. The Gipsies of Europe have, for purposes of concealment, adopted a Hindi patois as their peculiar cant, and have given it the name of Romancy from the country (Roumania), where they first encamped in Europe. On the other hand, Kanjars have adopted a secret language of their own, and use the vulgar tongue only when they speak to outsiders.

There is scarcely a district in Upper India, in which small encampments of Kanjars cannot be seen at times, either in solitary jungle tracts which are favourable for game and secrecy, or in the outskirts of villages, wherever it may be convenient to them to halt and sell their wares.* All true Kanjars are addicted to a roving life ; and if they halt for a time near some town or village, they put up their temporary sheds, made with poles and matting, in a grove at some distance apart from the abodes of the settled inhabitants. They have no connection whatever with Hindu forms of worship, or with the rules of life which that religion prescribes ; † and are entirely outside the pale of caste. Their natural home is the forest, where they subsist by hunting jackals, wolves, hares, and any other kind of animal that they can kill or catch, by gathering such roots and vegetable products as require no cultivation, and by extracting juice from the palm-tree, which, after it has become fermented, is the favourite beverage of almost all the wandering and low caste tribes of India. They are clever, too, at trapping birds and squirrels, and digging out snakes, mungooses, bandicoots, field rats, lizards, and any other

* During the time of the kings of Oudh, they were much more numerous than they are now in the Pharaich district. *William's Oudh Census*, Vol. I, p. 108. In the Census Report of the North-West Provinces, 1865, it is noted that they were found in 30 out of 35 districts. In the Census Report of the North-West and Oudh, 1882, they are said to have been found in every district of the United Provinces except Lalitpur and Garhwal.

† I inquired once of a Kanjar woman who formed one of a gang encamped in the Lucknow district at Bakshi Talau, what their religion was. This encampment had remained stationary in that spot for more than six consecutive years, and its members were evidently on the road to absorption in the great vortex of Hindu castes. She told me that they had no religion, but were ready to worship all the gods alike, if they could be induced, the Hindu, the Mussulman, and the gods of the *Sahib Loq* after-people, and that if she had her choice she certainly preferred the last, yet were obviously by far the most powerful of the three. Her remark, however, had no religion of her own, was an exaggeration of the fact, though soundly, evidently forgetting what her own religion was, or losing faith in it.

kind of vermin that chance may throw in their way; all of which they eat indiscriminately. Many of the *dakaites*, or gang-robbers, who infest the public highways at night are Kanjars; and in the pursuit of this calling they are sometimes associated with evil-doers from among the Hindu community.

Kanjars are seldom or never seen in groups of more than 20 or 40 persons of all ages at a time, and the number is sometimes even less. These little groups may unite sometimes for special and temporary objects. But large groups are never permanently formed. Small wandering hordes, such as may still be seen among the lowest races of men, are the germs out of which all the largest societies or nations have gradually sprung. When life is so rude and simple, that separate class interests, each depending on the other, cannot be created, no permanent cohesion of parts is possible; and a larger group, if it should be formed for a time, rapidly falls to pieces again. "Scattered over many regions," says Mr. Herbert Spencer, "there are minute hordes,—still extant examples of the primordial type of society. We have Wood-Veddahs living sometimes in pairs, and only now and then assembling; we have Bushmen wandering about in families, and forming larger groups but occasionally; we have Fuegians clustered by the dozen or score. Tribes of Australians, of Tasmanians, of Andamanese, are variable within the limits of perhaps 20 to 50. And similarly if the region is inhospitable as with the Esquimaux, or if the arts of life are undeveloped as with the Digger-Americans, or if adjacent higher races are obstacles to growth as with hill tribes, like the Juangs, this limitation to primitive size continues." * Among the Kanjars there are some groups or clans, which make a habit of keeping within easy reach of towns and villages, while others seldom ever leave the forest. But even among the former, it is merely the proximity of settled communities, which prevents the formation of larger groups. For even in wider forest tracts there is ample space and no impediment from higher races.

* *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. III, p. 48
 In the text the phrase is Digger-Indians; but I have taken the
 word to Digger-Americans, so as to prevent the mis-
 understanding might arise from the use of the word *Indian*. A fuller
 account of Diggers or Shoshonees, who live near the sources of the
 in page 60, Vol. II of *Great Deserts of America*,
 published by Longman and Green in 1860. The so-
 called Comanchees, a less savage tribe than the Shoshonees
 "senses an infinite number of petty chiefs, who live in
 (Vol. II, p. 341); and of another tribe he says
 "singular form of government: they live in bands
 (Vol. II, p. 343.)

law of petty non-associative hordes prevails ; and it would be a rare thing to find an encampment of more than, or even as many as, 50 persons. In the earliest times this type of society must have prevailed throughout the whole of India, and it is well known that it still prevails very largely in some parts of the centre and the south where settled Hindu communities scarcely exist. It was only when agriculture had transformed the habits of some of the hunting and nomad tribes, and drawn around it the various class interests inseparable from the settled state, that larger communities could at last be formed. The system of Indian castes was based upon the division of labour ; but this principle could not take root in the soil, till it was sown there with the crops of the husbandman.

The Kanjars live chiefly, as we have seen, by hunting and trapping, and by gathering the spontaneous fruits and roots of the forest. But there is no savage race in the world, in which certain rudimentary arts have not been practised from the earliest times. The Kanjars not only practise such arts as are necessary to their own existence, but they have acquired certain other crafts which are of no little utility to the settled communities, amongst whom they wander. They make mats of the *sirki*, reed baskets of wattled cane, fans of palm leaves, and rattles of plaited straw ;—the last of which are now sold to Hindu children as toys, though originally they were used by Kanjars themselves (if we are to trust to the analogies afforded by other backward races) as sacred and mysterious instruments. * From the stalks of the *munj* grass and

* Thus among the Abipones of South America, the priestess who conducts the ceremonies in connexion with the worship of the Pleiades “rattles a gourd full of hardish fruit-seeds to musical time.” The Congo-Negros “had a great wooden rattle, upon which they took their oaths.” In North America, when any person is sick, the sorcerer or medicine-man brings the sacred rattle and shakes it over him : this says Prescott, is “the principal catholicon for all diseases.” According to some of the earlier travellers in America (Lafitau, Vol. I, p. 211), the rattle was even regarded as a deity. These examples of the rattle have been chiefly taken from Sir John Lubbock’s *Early History of Civilisation*, Appendix Part II, p. 405, Edit., 1870. In Burma (as I have seen) diseases like small-pox, measles, cholera, &c., are ascribed to visitations of evil spirits. I remember once seeing a whole village turn out at a stated hour in the evening and commence violently beating the hollow bamboo piles on which the floors of their houses are raised above the ground. A loud clattering and rattling noise ensued : and I was told that this was intended as a simultaneous raid against the evil spirits, who resided inside the hollow bamboo poles and afflicted the dwellings of the people with the epidemic then raging. A rattling discordant noise seems to have been considered efficacious as a devil-driver amongst the Hindus. Mr. Sherring (*Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, p. 344) alludes to a low Indian caste called Jalwa, who, a few days after the birth of a child in a great man’s family, come around the house to yell and shriek. “This is supposed to be a preservative from ghosts, imps and hobgoblins, who are frightened away from the infant by these hideous sounds.” Here the barbarian tongue does duty for the barbarian rattle.

from the roots of the palāsi tree, they make ropes which are sold or bartered to villagers in exchange for grain, milk, pigs, &c. They prepare the skins of which drums are made, and sell them to Hindu musicians ;—though, probably, as in the case of the rattle, the drum was originally used by Kanjars themselves and worshipped as a fetish :* for even the Arya tribes, who are said to have been far more advanced than the indigenous races, sung hymns in honour of the drum or *dundubhi* as if it were something sacred. They make plates of broad leaves, which are ingeniously stitched together by thin stalks ; and plates of this kind are very widely used by the inferior Indian castes and by confectioners and sellers of sweetmeats. The mats of *sirki* reed, with which they cover their own temporary sheds, are largely used by cart-drivers of all classes or castes, to protect their goods and themselves against rain. The toddy,† or juice of the palm-tree, which they extract and ferment by methods of their own, and partly for their own use, finds a ready sale amongst low caste Hindus in villages and market towns. They are among the chief stone-cutters in Upper India, especially in the manufacture of the grinding stone which is very widely used. They gather the white wool-like fibre that grows in the pods of the *Salmali* or Indian cotton tree, and twist it into thread for the use of weavers. In the manufacture of brushes for the cleaning of cotton-yarn they enjoy an almost entire monopoly.‡ In these brushes a stiff mass of horse hair is attached to a wooden handle by sinews and strips of hide ; and the workmanship is remarkably neat and durable. Another complete, or almost complete, monopoly enjoyed by Kanjars is the collection and sale of the roots of *khaskhas* grass, which are afterwards made up

* According to the late Dr. Muir (see Sanskrit texts, Vol. V, p. 466, Edition 1870), in the Atharva Veda, V. 20, there is a hymn addressed to the drum as a sacred instrument. It is stated by Mr. Tylor that the drum, like the rattle, is a serious instrument, and not a plaything, amongst modern savages, *Anthropology*, Chap. XII, p. 293; Edit. 1881.

† The word toddy is the Anglicized form of *tādi* (ताडी.) the juice of the ताड़ or fan-palm, from the stem of which the liquor is extracted, and from the leaves of which the Indian fan or hand-punka is made. On the love of savage races for spirituous liquors, see *Great Deserts of America*, by Abbé Domenech. Vol. II, p. 27, 50, 57.)

‡ There is a small Muhammedan caste of recent formation, whose special function it is to manufacture weavers' brushes. This caste is called Kunchiband. The brushes are made by them on precisely the same plan as those made by Kanjars. It is not impossible that the members of this caste were originally Kanjars, who have been converted to Islam by men of the Julaha, or Muhammedan weaver caste, whose attachment to the creed of Islam is more than ordinarily intense.

by others into door-screens and used as refrigerators during the hottest months of the year. The roots of this wild grass, which grows in most abundance on the outskirts of forests, or near the banks of rivers, are dug out of the earth by an instrument called *Khanti*. * The same implement serves as a dagger or short spear for killing wolves or jackals, as a tool for carving a secret entrance through the clay-wall of a villager's hut, in which a burglary is meditated, as a spade or hoe for digging snakes, field rats, lizards, &c., out of their holes and edible roots out of the earth, and as a hatchet for chopping wood.

In most of the above arts or industries, it is easy to recognize functions or germs of functions, one or other of which has long been the stereotyped hereditary calling of certain inferior castes, such as Bahaliya, Bári, Behna, Channár, Dharkár, Kori, Kalwár, and others; and hence we may reasonably conclude, that the wandering and predatory tribes, which were once universal in Upper India, but of which now only a few fragments remain, were the *rudis indigestaque moles*, out of which the several castes, with their respective functions, were fashioned by slow degrees.

One of the arts (as we have shewn) in which Kanjars chiefly excel is that of making reed mats, fibre ropes, nets, cane baskets, rattles, palm-fans, &c. The light *sirki* mat, for example, with which they cover their own moveable leaf huts, is a model of neatness and simplicity, combined with usefulness. Almost all the other wandering tribes, besides Kanjars, and almost all the lowest Hindu castes (that is, those who are least removed from the Kanjar stage, such as Dóms, Bhangis, Khatiks, Bindis, Bhars, Dharkars, &c.), are noted for their skill in similar kinds of workmanship. The proficiency displayed by the Indian savage in this respect is one of the many links connecting them with savage races in other parts of the world; for there seems to have been no race of men so ignorant as to be destitute of this art in some kind of form, wherever the materials have been supplied by nature ready to their hands. The Hottentots, for example, made their

* So called from the root खन्, which in Sanskrit means to dig or make a hole. The handle is about 3 feet long, and the blade (which is sharpened into a curved point something like the blade of a knife) is about a foot long. The blade is now made of iron, but was originally of stone. The iron blade is procured by Kanjars from ironsmiths. The handle is made by themselves. Mr. Sherring in *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, p. 38, says: "At the commencement of the hot weather the Kanjar takes the sweet-scented *khaskhas* grass and works it into a light bamboo frame." This is a mistake. It is not the grass, but the root of the *khaskhas* which is so used. And it is not Kanjars but Chaparbands and others who make the light bamboo frame and fasten the *khaskhas* roots into it.

huts of plaited osiers covered with mats ; and "the mats were "made of bulrushes and flags dried in the sun, and so closely "fitted together, that only the heaviest rain could penetrate them." The Veddahs, the wild tribes of Ceylon, live in huts formed of boughs and bark, and make strings for their bows, and ropes for guiding their hunting buffaloes. The Mincopies, or natives of the Andaman Islands, who dispute with Veddahs the distinction of being the lowest of the human race in the scale of culture, manufacture fishing-nets, bow-strings, and the long cord which they attach to their harpoons ; and their women stitch together small leaf-aprons, similar in design to those said to have been worn by our first parents after the Fall, and still worn by some of the Kolarian and Dravidian tribes in Central and Southern India at the present day. * The Australian savages roof their huts with palm leaves attached to broad pieces of bark, which they strip off the gum-tree, and manufacture vessels of bark for receiving and holding water. The Feejeeans surmount their ramparts with reed fences and stockades, roof their houses with thatch work of wild sugarcane and fern leaves, and rig their canoes with sails made of mats. The Maoris make fishing lines and nets of the fibres of a wild flax plant, and protect the sides of their houses with a wicker work of osiers closely thatched with dry reeds. The Tahitians made fishing-nets, lines, and ropes out of the fibre of the cocoanut and other native plants, covered their houses with palm leaves laid in the form of thatch, and were very skilful in making baskets and wicker work of a thousand different patterns. The Kamchadales build their yourts or joint-family dwellings with wooden pillars, the interstices between which are filled up with a strong wicker work. The Fuegians,—another race for whom a claim has been set up as being the lowest of mankind,—make baskets, water-buckets, and fishing-lines. † It is worthy of note that the Hindu lawgiver, who probably flourished at about 300 B. C., assigns "the working with canes and reeds" as the appropriate function of the lowest caste existing in his own day, whom he calls Sopáka or dog-eater. ‡ The chimpanzee builds

* As for example, the Chenchus : (*Sherring's Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol III, p. 140.) In Vol. III, 208, the Koragars are described as using bunches of leafy twigs.

† This, and the other examples previously quoted, have been collected from *Pre-historic Times*, Chaps. XIII. and XIV, by Sir John Lubbock.

‡ *Institutes of Manu*, Chap. X. sl. 37. The caste, to which this function is assigned, is called Pandusopáka, that is, the dog-eating clan of the tribe of Pándus. Dog-diet is considered unclean at the present day, even by Kanjars. The Lawgiver can scarcely find language to express his abhorrence of the Sopákas, see slokas 52-56.

himself a house or shelter quite equal to that of some savages. The first men that existed may have known this art by inborn instinct; but even if they did not, they must soon have learnt it, when the necessities of their position as hunters compelled them to study the customs and contrivances of the animals with whom they disputed possession of the forest.*

Another art, in which Kanjars especially excel, and which connects them with savage tribes elsewhere, is that of stone-cutting. They are the chief millstone-makers in Upper India. There is one division of Kanjars, namely, the Sankat clan, which has evidently derived its name from this industry. Originally, that is, before the art of smelting and shaping metals was known, all blades, spearheads, arrowheads, &c., were (as is well known) made of stone. The ancestors of mankind could never have maintained themselves against the fiercer animals of the forest, or preyed upon the smaller ones, if they had not found out how to provide themselves with the weapons necessary to the purpose. At present all the implements and tools used by Kanjars, and, in fact, by all the other hunting and trapping tribes still left in India, are bladed or tipped with iron; and the iron is fashioned to the shape required not by the hunters themselves, but by men of the Lohár caste. But though the Indian savage of modern times has lost the art of stone-cutting for the manufacture of weapons, he has retained it none the less for those purposes, in which stone is still useful. The grinding-mill, which Kanjars make, consists of two circular stones of equal diameter. The upper one, which is the thicker and heavier of the two, revolves on a wooden pivot fixed in the centre of the lower one, and is propelled by two women, each holding the same handle. The widespread use of this contrivance is one of the many proofs of the uniformity of human instincts. For millstones of almost precisely the same design were known to the Israelites; † and they are used to this day by the Christians of Abyssinia, ‡ by the wild Turkoman tribes of Central Asia, § and by the natives of India. The same kind of grinding-stone is still used in the Heb-

* *Pre-historic Times*, Chap. XVI, p. 573, by Sir John Lubbock.

† *Luke's Gospel*, Chap. XVII, verse 35: "Two women shall be grinding together: the one shall be taken and the other left. See also Isaiah, Chap. XLVII, verse 2.

‡ *Dr. Woly's Travels and Adventures*, 1861, p. 491. The Abyssinians work at the mill standing; the natives of India sitting: hence in Abyssinia the handle is long, and in India short.

§ The Turkoman grinding stone is alluded to in many places in the *Merv Oasis*, by Mr. O. Donovan, London, 1882.

rides ; * and it has only lately been superseded in Europe by the use of iron machinery. Kanjars (as we have said) are the chief manufacturers of the grinding-stone in Upper India. They could not have learnt the art by imitation ; for there is no respectable Indian caste, which could have taught them. † In Upper India there is only one caste, Khatik, and a sub-caste of Kahars called Gond, which share with them the monopoly of this industry ; and both of these are among the lowest of the Hindu fraternity,—only a few degrees raised above the Kanjar stage. On the Eastern coast of the Deccan there is a thieving and hunting tribe, (Bámptya,) which is noted for the manufacture of millstones ; ‡ and in the Marhatta country there are several low tribes, (such as Takkái, Pákiukár, &c.,) § who are by profession manufacturers and mend-ers of grinding-stones, but are still addicted to a roving and predatory life, and are still as much outside the pale of caste as Kanjars. There is, therefore, good reason to believe that the mill-stone is a legacy from the Stone age of the world, and was an invention of savage races. ||

* *Tylor's Anthropology*, Chap. VIII, p. 202 : MacMillan & Co., 1881. An illustration or drawing of the process is there given. Except for the length of the wooden handle, (which in India is very short), the reader might have fancied that he had before him a picture of two Indian women grinding corn.

† There are only two exceptions to this ; but both are exceptions which verify the rule. There is a small caste called *Sangtarash*, consisting of only 3,286 persons all told, (*see Census of North-West and Oudh, 1882, Appendix F, p. 5*), which follows the trade of stone-cutting. But this (like Beldár, the name of which is derived from Persian, and not from Sanskrit) is a caste of recent origin and is scarcely yet stereotyped. Another small caste of stone-cutters, which is only beginning to exist, is called Pesharaj, or one who prepares stone for builders,—this, too, a word of Persian origin. These men, some 50 years ago, were Ahirs or cattle grazers, who from their contact with the forests and quarries in the Mirzapur district become first stone-porters, and then developed into stone-cutters. Mr. Growse calls attention to the fact that *Sangtarash*, as the name of a special caste, is still unrecognized in many places : “Partially developed castes are only recognized in some few districts, and totally ignored in others. Thus Mathura is a great centre of the stone-cutters’ art ; but the men who practice it belong to different ranks, and have not adopted the distinctive trade name of *Sangtarash*, which seems to be recognized in Hamirpur, Aligarh, and Kamaon.”—*North-West Census Report, 1873, p. LXXXIV.*

‡ *Sherring's Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. 205.

§ *Sherring*, Vol. II, p. 330.

|| Another reason for ascribing the invention (in India at least) to savages is that in the plains of the Ganges valley, where the great caste-system was developed into what we see, there are no quarries from which the stone could be produced. It is only at the foot of mountains where the forest tribes delight to dwell, that the stones can be procured.

There is one more industry not yet named for which Kanjars are noted, though in a less degree than some of the other forest tribes of the present day,—the collection of herbs and roots possessing medicinal properties. The knowledge of the properties of trees and plants is one of the marked characteristics of savage life not only in India, but in all other parts of the world. Writing of the native races of North America, the Abbé Domenech observes:—* “If the Red Indians are but poor astronomers, they are, on the other hand, excellent botanists. Living continually in the presence of vegetable nature, they have directed their rare faculties of observation to the study of plants; and their acquaintance with the vegetable kingdom is wonderful. It serves to indicate to them remedies for a great number of wounds and maladies.” The same remarks might have been written with equal truth of the wandering and forest tribes of India. It is these tribes who have laid the foundations of the healing art in this country; and the physicians of India are to this day absolutely dependent on their rude kinsmen of the forest for the drugs which they administer to their patients. Among the medicinal products procured by Kanjars are the roots of the simal or cotton tree, the sap of which is used as a tonic, the fibre and juice of the gürch creeper, which are given as a febrifuge, and the bark of the Lodh tree, which is used as a dye as well as for medicinal purposes. Other tribes are noted for extracting the juice (called kathi in India and catechu in Europe) from the khairá tree; and hence there is a tribe called Khairwar in Northern India, and Kath-Kári in Southern. † We have already seen, how the forest-tribes (Kanjars included) were the first discoverers of the art of bleeding the fan-palm and converting its juice into spirituous liquor, just as the native savages of North America discovered the art of bleeding the maple tree and condensing its juice into sugar. ‡ Not less remarkable was the discovery of the properties of *blung* or Indian hemp (*Cannabis Indica*), which like catechu is largely used in European pharmacy, and which in India has given the name of Bhanghi to one of the lowest of the

* *Great Deserts of America*, Vol II, p. 333. The author goes on to show that they use decoction of Sassafras for pleurisy, and a kind of euphorbia and the oil of palma christi for purgatives; how they discovered the red seed of the magnolia as a febrifuge, p. 335, the wood of the acacia as a cure for toothache, the medicinal properties of *Sanaparrilla fern*, &c., p. 336.

† *Sherring's Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, p. 385; and Vol. II, p. 325.

‡ For an account of this process, see *Great Deserts of America*, by Abbé Em. Domenech, Vol II, p. 245.

Hindu castes.* Another caste, Tamboli, has derived its name from the tambol or betel-creeper, the leaf of which is now universally chewed in India as a stimulant; and the cultivation of this creeper, which originally was merely a forest plant, has now become so delicate as to tax the best skill of the Indian gardener. The wild tea plant was known and used in Assam by the native races of that province, even before the cultivation of tea gardens had been commenced by Europeans. Tobacco and its uses were known to the native races of America, long before its growth had become one of the great agricultural industries of America, Europe and Asia.† In the discovery of the properties of forest plants, it must be admitted that savages have been the originators, and civilized men only the copyists and improvers.

The religion of the Kanjars, so far as we have been able to learn it, is quite what we should expect to find among a primitive and uncultivated people. It is a religion without idols, without temples, and without a priesthood. They live in the constant dread of evil spirits, the souls of the departed, who are said to enter into the bodies of the living as a punishment for past misdeeds or neglect of burial rites, and to produce most of the ills to which flesh is heir. In this creed they stand on the same intellectual level with their more civilized kinsfolk, the Hindus, amongst whom it is universally believed that the air is peopled with *bhuts*, malignant spirits, who haunt graveyards, lurk in trees, re-animate corpses, devour living men, or attack them with madness, epilepsy, cramp, &c. In fact, (according to the highest authority on the subject), "animism, or the belief in spiritual beings, is the essential source "and minimum definition of religion generally";‡ and the belief

* The Bhangi is the caste of sweeper, known in European houses as *Mehlar*. These men use *bhang* for intoxication, and not for medicinal purposes. Perhaps they received their name from the skill, with which in their days of savagery they collected the drug.

† In America tobacco was not merely used as a stimulant and narcotic, but for giving the most solemn sanction to intertribal compacts. On the use of the calumet or peace pipe in America, see *Great Deserts*, by Abbé Em. Domenech, Vol. II, pp 210 and 273. "The calumet is everywhere an object "of great veneration. It is never smoked but at the conclusion or ratification of a treaty of peace, which terminates a war, commences an amnesty, "or sanctions a territorial agreement." In India tobacco was not indigenous, but is now very widely cultivated. Such is the uniformity of human instincts, that the act of smoking together is considered as a pledge of peace between two persons and as a guarantee that they belong to the same caste. If a Brahmin smoked with a Chamâr, he would be degraded at once to a Chamâr's status.

‡ Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I, chapter XI, Edit. 1871. The words quoted in the text occur in p. 383.

in the preponderance of evil spirits over good is one of the marks of a savage and uncultivated mind. Like the aboriginal Australians, Kanjars have no belief in natural death except as the effect of old age. All deaths, but those caused by natural decay or by violence, are ascribed to the agency of evil spirits. The dead are buried five or six feet deep, lest a wild beast should tear up the carcass, and by disturbing the body send forth its attendant soul to vex and persecute the living.* When a patient is possessed, they employ an exorcist, or spirit-medium, whom they call Nyotia, to compel the spirit to declare what his grievance is, so that satisfaction may be given him, and he may thus be induced to leave his victim in peace. The spirit-medium has power, they say, to transport the goblin direct into the body of some living person, and to make that person its mouthpiece for declaring its will.

In the wide range of human history, it is difficult to find an example of a primitive horde or nation, which has not had its inspired prophet or deified ancestor. The man-god whom Kanjars worship is Mānā,—a name which does not appear in any of the lists of the Hindu divinities. While he lived amongst men, he was the model fighter, the great hunter, the wise artificer, and the unconquered chief. He was not only the teacher and guide, but also the founder and ancestor of the tribe. He is therefore to the Kanjar what Hellen was to the Greeks, Romulus to the Romans, Abraham to the Jews, or Ishmael to the Arabs, and something more than what Mithu Bhukia is to the Banjāra, Mānjhā to the Rewāri, Albā and Wudā to the Bandel, Rai Dās to the Chamār, Lāl Guru to the Bhangī, or Nānak to the Sikh. Mānā is worshipped with more ceremony in the rainy season, when the tribe is less migratory, than in the dry months of the year. On such occasions, if sufficient notice is circulated, several encampments unite temporarily to pay honor to their common ancestor. No altar is raised. No image is erected. The worshippers collect near a tree, under which they sacrifice a pig or goat, or sheep, or fowl, and make an offering of roasted flesh and spirituous liquor. Formerly (it is said) they used to sacrifice a child, having first made it insensible with fermented palm-juice or

* The belief that the soul of the dead hovers around or near the place where the corpse was buried, is, or has been, of world-wide acceptance. It was embodied in the Latin saying, *tumulum circumcolat umbra*. A large number of examples are given in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, chapter XII, pp. 2426, Edit. 1871.

toddy.* They dance round the tree in honor of Máná, and sing the customary songs in commemoration of his wisdom and deeds of valour. At the close of the ceremony there is a general feast, in which most of the banqueters get drunk. On these occasions,—but before the drunken stage has been reached,—a man sometimes comes forward, and declares himself to be especially filled with the divine presence. He abstains from the flesh and wine of which others partake, and remains standing before the tree with his eyes closed as in a trance. If he is seized with a fit of trembling, the spirit of Máná is thought to have possessed him, and while the inspiration lasts he is consulted as an oracle by any man or woman of the assembly who desires to be helped out of a difficulty. Any one who has been thus inspired more than once is regarded as a chosen vessel, through whom Máná will reveal his will; and happy is the gang or encampment, which enjoys the possession of such a privileged being. There is no connection between a prophet of Máná and an exorcist or Nyetia. The two functions are quite distinct; and neither of them is hereditary.

There are certain goddesses also whom Kanjars worship; but it is difficult to ascertain their original meaning and character. Their names at least (as I was informed) are Mari, Parbhá, and Bhuiyán. Of these Mari is supreme,† and her worship is celebrated with the same zeal and by the same ceremonies as that of Máná. No such name appears in the Hindu Pantheon. *Mari* would seem to signify death; but she is worshipped by Kanjars (so far as I could learn) as the animating and sustaining principle of nature. Parbhá, which would appear to signify light, is worshipped by Kanjars as the goddess of health, and more especially of the health of cattle. The same goddess is worshipped by Ahirs and the other pastoral castes of India, and by men of any other castes who have taken to the same occupation. This is a connecting link between the religion of Kanjars and that of the low caste Hindus. Another link in the same chain is the worship of Bhuiyán, the earth-goddess, (as the name implies.) But her Hindu worshippers have attempted to promote her to the upper ranks of the Pantheon

* The Kanjar who communicated these facts said, that the child used to open out its neck to the knife, as if it desired to be sacrificed to the deity. Possibly, in secluded places, where the original manners of the tribe have been less modified than elsewhere, human sacrifice is not yet extinct. Such seemed to be the opinion of the Kanjar himself, though he appeared to be rather afraid to confess it, knowing that the Government authorities would treat it as a case of murder.

† She is also called Maharáni Devi, that is, the great queen goddess.

by adding the title of Bhawáni, one of the numerous names of Káli, the queen of heaven.

The marriage customs of Kanjars bear no resemblance to those of Hindus. There is no betrothal in childhood, no selection of auspicious days, and no elaborate ceremonies or ritual. The father or other near relative of the youth goes to the father of the girl, and after winning his favour with a pot of toddy, and gaining his consent to the marriage of his daughter, he seals the bargain with a gift of money, or of some tool or animal which Kanjars prize. The girl selected is never a blood relation to the intended husband, and she is almost always of some other encampment or gang. A few days after the bargain has been made, the youth goes with his father and as many other men as he can collect,—all in their best attire and armed with their best weapons,—and demands the girl in tones which imply that he is ready to seize her by force if she is refused. The girl is always peacefully surrendered in virtue of the previous compact; and this demonstration of force is a mere form,—a survival of the primitive world-wide custom of marriage by capture. Among the Khands of Orissa, the tradition of wife-capture is acted out in a more dramatic form: for here the wedding ceremony consists in forcibly carrying off the bride in the middle of a feast, which leads to a desperate sham fight between the young men, 20 or 30 in number, who champion the cause of the bridegroom, and a body of young women, who assail them with stones and bamboos in order to recapture the departing bride.* The legend of the capture of Sabine women by Romulus' warrior band, and the Biblical account of the seizure of 400 virgins from Jabesh-Gilead by the tribe of Benjamin, shew that what has since become a form was once a serious reality not unfrequently attended by bloodshed.† Among the wild Turkoman tribes of Central Asia, marriage by capture, though in most weddings a mere form, is still in certain cases practised as a fact. The *form* is that of a sham fight between the male claimant of the bride and the female band who try to re-cue her, as among the Khands of Orissa; the *fact* consists in an actual race on horseback between the girl and her pursuer.‡

* "Personal Narrative of Service in Khondistan," by Major-General Campbell, 1864, p. 44. The same custom is alluded to in Mr. W. W. Hunter's *Indian Empire*, 1882, p. 77.

† *Book of Judges*, chaps. XX. and XXI. For the sake of these 400 virgins, all the other inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead were slaughtered. The Roman rape had a less tragical close. But a sanguinary war between the Romans and Sabines was only averted by the intercession of the Sabine women who had now become the wives of the Roman band.

‡ Burnaby's *Ride to Khiva*, 1876, pp. 221—224.

It is well known that in India in early times wife-capture was so commonly practised, that it was legalized by the Brahman law-givers and permitted even to high caste Hindus of the rank of Chattri.* In modern times, the wedding ceremonies observed among all classes of Hindus have been tinged by the tradition of this savage custom. The bridegroom goes to claim his child-affianced bride with all the display of men, servants, horses, &c., that he can collect or pay for; and the bride is then carried off concealed in a sedan, (generally alone, but sometimes with the bridegroom), shrieking and crying as if she were being dragged off by violence. Such (as I conceive it) is the meaning of the Hindu *barât*,—a ceremony derived from what was once a living reality, but now observed only as a dull, prosaic, and lifeless form, the costliness of which is a serious drain on the wealth and prosperity of the people.

On the arrival of the Kanjar bride at the encampment of her intended mate, a few simple ceremonies are performed. A pole is fixed in a mound of earth, and on the top of the pole is tied a bunch of *khaskhas* root or any thing else that may be equally fitted to serve as an emblem of the Kanjar industries. The bridegroom takes the girl by the hand,† and leads her several times round the pole in the presence of the spectators. A sacrifice of roast pig or goat with libations of toddy is then offered to Máná as the ancestral hero of the tribe; and songs are sung in his honor. When this is finished, there is a general feast and dance, in which every one at last gets drunk. The father of the bride does not give his daughter away without a dowry. This consists in a patch of forest assumed to be his own, which becomes thenceforth the property of the bridegroom, so long as the encampment remains near this place, or whenever it may return to it. No one without the bridegroom's consent will be authorized to use this piece of forest either for hunting or trapping, or for digging out

* *Institutes of Manu*, Chap. III, sl. 33. This kind of marriage is there called *Rakshasa*, because it was commonly practised by the malignant races. The Hindus called these people by the name of *Rakshasa* or malignant demon, because they did not worship the Hindu gods, but disturbed the Brahmanical sacrifices and killed the priests and hermits of the forest. The great instance in Hindu legend of a *Rakshasa* marriage (or marriage by capture), is that of the forcible abduction of Sita, the wife of Rama, by Ravana, the great king of the *Rakshasas*.

† The taking of the girl by the hand appears to be an almost universal custom in civilized as well as in uncivilized communities. It forms part of the ceremony performed in Christian churches. It also forms part of the Hindu ceremony, and is called *pani-grahan*, or hand-taking. In the Hindi language *pani-grahan* (an old word derived directly from Sanskrit) is a synonym for marriage.

roots of *khaskhas*, or for gathering wild honey, or collecting medicinal herbs. If the piece of forest presents peculiar facilities for one or more of these industries, the dowry is a valuable gift. The fellow tribesmen observe faithfully, as a rule, the proprietary right thus conferred upon the bridegroom; but the migratory habits of the tribe make the enjoyment of the gift short-lived and precarious.

The woman, after she is once married, cannot leave the husband without his consent, whatever treatment she may receive. But the man can send the woman away at his own pleasure, provided he pays her something as compensation; and the amount of the compensation is decided on the merits of each case by a meeting of the male members of the encampment. If there are any children, the father is the undisputed owner of all; and if there is a child in arms at the time of the divorce, the mother is not allowed to keep it after it has been weaned. The woman is then perfectly free to marry any one else who will take her. As a rule, however, such divorces are rare; and the women lead happier and freer lives, are more trusted, more respected, have more respect for themselves, and are better treated than amongst most classes of Hindus. In the one case, the woman is left free to take the place for which nature intended her. In the other, she is condemned to child-marriage, house-hold slavery, perpetual widowhood and seclusion, by the cowardly institutions of her country and the false ethics of Brahmans.*

A new born child is considered unclean, and hence on the 6th day after its birth a lustral ceremony is performed with water; and the child then generally receives its name. The occasion is celebrated with a feast and dance, ending, as usual, in a drinking bout. When the child is six months old, a further ceremony is

* Lest this language should appear unjust, I would ask the reader to read and ponder what a native writer, Shib Chunder Bose, (*Hindoo as they are*) has the honesty to say on this point:—"The condition of a Hindoo female is usually deplorable. . . A European lady can have no idea of the enormous amount of misery and privation to which the life of a Hindoo female is subjected. . . In her case the bitters far counterbalance the sweets of life. The natural helplessness of her condition, the abject wretchedness to which she is inevitably doomed, the utter prostration of her intellect, the ascendancy of a dominant priesthood exacting unquestioning submission to its selfish doctrines, and the appalling hardships and austerities which she is condemned to endure in the event of the death of her lord, literally beggars description. All the graces and accomplishments with which she is blessed by nature . . . are, in her case, unreasonably denounced as unfeminine endowments and privileges, to assert which is a sacrilegious act. If she is ever happy, she is happy in spite of the cruel ordinances of her law-giver and the still more cruel institutions of her country." A great many more passages could be quoted to the same effect from the above writer.

performed which consists in clipping off the hair with which the child was born, and thus removing the last remains of the taint which it received from birth. Among primitive races no distinction is perceived between physical and spiritual uncleanness; * and it appears to have been very generally believed; that unless the taint of nature imparted at birth is removed by some purifying rite, the child will remain ever afterwards impure and become more than usually subject, as time goes on, to evil influences. Hence the almost universal prevalence of ceremonies for the lustration of new born infants. The naming of the child has been often associated with its baptism; but this is a mere matter of convenience; for the two rites are not in any way connected. Water in some form or other is the chief medium of lustration. The natives of Sikkhim (as I have seen) evince a lifelong aversion to water as a mere means of cleanliness: yet every Bhoota and Lepcha child soon after its birth is soaked, as long as it can bear the process, in the purest water that can be drawn from the hill-side spring. Among the Yumana tribes of Brazil, as soon as a child can sit up, it is sprinkled with a decoction of certain herbs and receives a name. Fire, the other great element of purity, is sometimes used with water. Among the Jakun tribes of the Malay peninsula, as soon as the child is born, it is carried to the nearest stream and washed; and is then brought back to the house and passed several times over fire. Amongst all castes of Hindus, after a child is born, a fire is kept smouldering day and night outside the door of the house; on the 6th day the child is dipped in water; on the 12th the water-purification is repeated; and on both days the floor of the house is smeared or rather purified (according to Indo-Persian notions) with cow dung. † The

* The quaint maxim, which every one quotes, but no one understands, "cleanliness is next to godliness," is probably based upon the old confusion of ideas between physical and moral impurity.

† Most Hindus, however, appear to have lost all idea as to the origin and primary meaning of these lustration ceremonies. Ask a man why a fire is kept up, and he will say "to keep the woman and child warm," this, when often there is no fire at all, but only smoke and ashes, and when the temperature of the air is already too hot for health. The fire-custom was imported by the Arya tribes from Persia; as also the use of cowdung, which is still used for making "holy water" by the Parsis. The water ceremony is the indigenous custom of the Indian race, being that followed by Kanjars. It is through the influence of Brahmmins that the Hindus have become so wonderfully ignorant of the meaning of their own customs in this and other cases. There never was a people more bound by their customs and more ignorant of their meanings than Hindus. The object of the ceremonies for the purification of a new born child was, however, perfectly well known to the author of the Institutes of Manu. For in Chap. V, sloka 85, it is said that a man who has even touched a new born, that is, an unpurified

Maoris of New Zealand had a baptismal rite of their own before they became Christians. The baptism was performed on the eighth day or earlier by a native priest, who sprinkled water on the child with a branch or twig; and with this lustration it received a name after one of its ancestors.* In Africa the people of Sarac wash the child three days after birth with holy water. Holy spittle is sometimes used instead of holy water. Among the Mandingos, in the same continent, the hair of the child was cut when it was about a week old, and the priest invoking blessings whispered in its ear and spat three times in its face.† In Guinea, when a child is born, the babe is brought into the streets, and the headman of the town or family sprinkles it with water from a basin, invoking blessings of health and wealth. In the old religion of Peru the significance of the baptismal ceremony as a means of washing away evil influences was emphasised "by the act of throwing the water, in which the child had been washed, into a hole, while the priest or wizard repeated charms."‡ Peruvian converts of the present day still cut off a lock of the child's hair at baptism,—a survival of the old pagan ceremony of cutting off the birth-hair with an obsidian blade which answered the purpose of a razor. In old Mexico, before the Spanish conquest, "the nurse washed the infant in the name of the water-goddess, to remove the impurity of its birth, to cleanse its heart, and to give it a good and perfect life." Within the range of Buddhism in its Lamaist form, we are told that "the Lama blesses

child, becomes himself impure and must undergo a lustration-ceremony with water. In slokas 121 and 122 of the same chapter and in many other places, he alludes to the purifying effect of cow's urine and cowdung. The uses of fire as a purifier are constantly insisted on in the same chapter.

* *Tylor's New Zealand*, p. 184. The best proof that the rite of baptism in New Zealand was a heathen ceremony long anterior to the advent of Christianity is seen in the Legend of Tawhaki told in Sir G. Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, London, 1855, p. 67—80. The whole of this legend is taken up with the efforts made by Tawhaki to find his lost child and get her baptized. When at last the baptism was completed by the father, "fire flashed from his armpits," and he became the thunder-god.

† *Mungo Park's Travels*, Chap. VI. Holy spittle is very firmly believed in by the Christians of Abyssinia. When the great Dr. Wolff entered that country as a missionary, it happened that the people were expecting an Aboona, or Patriarch from Cairo at the time. Believing Wolff to be the man, they forced him to spit on them till he was exhausted. See Wolff's *Travels and Adventures*, p. 493. Edit. 1861.

‡ *Tylor's Primitive Culture*, Chap. XVIII, Vol. II, p. 394; where he quotes an old formula:—"Oh thou river, receive the sins I have this day confessed unto the sun. Carry them down to the sea, and let them never more appear."

the water and immerses the child thrice and gives it its name." * It is scarcely necessary to add that the use of consecrated water for the baptism of new-born children is universally prevalent in the Greek, Roman, and Protestant churches; and that the question whether the water so used is a real regenerator of the soul or merely a symbol of the pure life and Sinless Being, to whose service the child is dedicated, is one of the great points of doctrine, which divides christendom into two hostile camps.

There are three different modes in which Kanjars dispose of their dead; submersion in deep water by fastening a stone to the corpse; cremation; and burial. Each clan disposes of its dead according to its own hereditary and special rites. The first method is the least common; the next may have been borrowed from the Hindu rite, which was itself imported by the Arya tribes from Persia; the last is the one most frequently practised as well as the most highly esteemed. A man who has acted as a spirit-medium to Máná is invariably buried in the earth, to whatever clan he may have belonged. Máná himself was so buried,—at Karra, (as some Kanjars relate) in the Allahabad district, not far from the Ganges, and facing the old city of Manikpur on the opposite bank. Three days after the corpse has been disposed of, there is a feast of vegetables and milk, but no flesh; and a similar feast is held on the seventh day. A third banquet is afterwards given on any day which may be found convenient, and in this banquet flesh and wine are freely consumed. When both the parents of a man have died, a fourth feast is given in their joint honour. In all these feasts, it is the soul of the dead which is fed or meant to be fed, rather than the bodies of the living. It is thought that the soul consumes the light ethereal portion of the offerings, that is, the steam and the odour; the leavings, that is, the grosser and material elements, are then consumed by the living. In the observance of such practices Kanjars are on the same level with the highest castes of Hindus, whose custom it is to hang a lighted lamp on a pipal tree, together with pots of ghee, rice and milk so as to appease the hunger and thirst of the departed soul, and give it light

* *Tylor's Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 394-5, Chapter XVIII. All the instances quoted in this paragraph, except when other quotations have been noted, are taken from the above chapter in Mr. Tylor's great work. A most remarkable account of Aztec baptism as practised in old or heathen Mexico is given in Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, London, 1860, Vol. III, p. 315. Baptism as now practised in heathen China, (a case which Mr. Tylor has not noticed) is described in Doolittle's work, p. 85-86. The writer, an American Missionary, tells us that it is solemnized on the third day after birth "as a kind of purification."

through the night.* The custom of feeding the dead is not confined to India. It has prevailed at one time or other in all parts of the world, and the sentiment which has dictated it must be counted among the universal instincts of mankind. †

Each encampment or group is a self-governing body. There are no hereditary or industrial distinctions of rank. All men are born equal. The affairs of each gang are managed by a council of the heads of families; and this is sometimes presided over by some elderly man noted above the rest for experience, wisdom, and courage, who is looked upon as the kinglet or chief of the band. All questions or disputes about marriage compacts, compensation for divorce, punishments for misdeeds, distribution of game, plunder, or lawful gain, change of camping ground, contracts with landlords or owners of forests, &c., are decided in these assemblies. In primitive unorganized hordes (as Mr. Herbert Spencer has shown), the first and only type of political structure consists in a council of elders, presided over by some chief, and listened to by the juniors and women: "We find it not only among peoples of superior types, but also among sundry Malays, Polynesian races, among the red men of North America, the Dravidian tribes of the Indian hills, and the aborigines of Australia." ‡ The senates, parliaments, and congresses of the most advanced nations have sprung from this simple germ. It is well known that among all the lower Hindu castes the custom still exists of settling disputes by an assembly (now called punch or punchayet), which consists of a few of the leading men of the same caste or clan. As there are now but few dis-

* In India, however, almost every sentiment natural to the mind of man has been turned upside down by Brahmans and distorted to suit their own ends. The feast of the dead, which in other countries is shared in by the surviving relatives, has been perverted into a feast to Brahmans, who assemble round the house on the 13th day after the death has taken place, and are feasted to their stomach's content by the wretched family who have to provide the banquet. The oldest law books inculcate the necessity of feeding *Brahmans* at such times in preference to feeding *relatives*. Thus: "the food given at a sacrifice to persons related to the giver is a gift offered to goblins. It reaches neither the manes (souls of the dead) nor the gods."—*Apastamba* II, VII, 17, 8, (Sacred Books of the East.)

† A very full and complete account of the feasts of the dead, as practised in all parts of the world, may be seen in *Tylor's Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, Chapter XII, pp. 26-40, Edit. 1871.

‡ Political Institutions (being Part V, of Principles of Sociology), chapter V, p. 315, Edit. 1882. He quotes examples from the aborigines of Victoria the red men of North America, certain tribes of Central America, the hill tribes of India, New Zealanders, Tahitians, the Malagasies, the Homeric Greeks, the early Romans, the ancient Germans, the Scandinavians, and the ancient English.

putes which cannot be brought into the Government courts, the functions of the punchayets are in these days chiefly, but not exclusively, bestowed upon purely caste-questions—questions which could scarcely be decided by any other tribunal. But if we are to draw any inference from the custom still prevailing among Kanjars, or if we are to trust the analogies afforded by other backward races still living, we must suppose that the original functions of the punchayet were much wider than they now usually are, and that the custom of referring disputes to the decision of such a tribunal was one of very great antiquity, reaching back far beyond the commencement of the Muhammedan period, or even the invasion of the Arya tribes from the west. *

For the settlements of disputes, which cannot be decided by the Kanjar council, either from want of evidence or owing to difference of opinion among the assessors, recourse is had to a kind of ordeal which might be called the floating test. The disputants go to the bank of a river, accompanied by umpires, and throw themselves into the deepest water. The man who rises first is declared guilty. For the great element of purity is believed to have disowned him as something unclean and cast him up from its unwilling embrace. This custom of relying upon supernatural aid for the settlement of cases, in which natural evidence is wanting or human judgment is unequal to the task, is another of the many links connecting the Kanjar tribe with the savage or semi-barbarous age of the world. Among the Israelites of old, a woman suspected of unfaithfulness, but without proof sufficient for conviction, was made to prove

* Raja Siva Prasad, C.S.I., author of a short History of Hindustan in the vernacular, has, however, expressed a different opinion in Part III of the book named. After pointing out that in the Mahummedan period the entire administration of civil and criminal justice was in the hands of the Kazi, guided by no other law than the precepts of Mahomed, he adds in a note:—"Hence perhaps, is the origin of the Punchayet system and of that of excommunication. When the Hindus saw that they could not expect any equitable decisions of their civil suits from the Mahomedan Kazi, and that their claims to hereditary property were not to be ascertained by their own law of inheritance, they preferred their suits before their own communities (baradari) whose awards they were bound to acknowledge: if either party shewed any inclination of not abiding by them, he was "made an outcaste." If we are to believe the contents of the Hindu law-book known to us as the Institutes of Manu, a low caste man had as bad a chance of receiving fair play from a Brahman judge in ancient times, as his descendant in more recent times had of receiving justice from a Mahommedan Kazi. The fact is, a low caste man had no chance whatever of getting either of these judges to attend to him. So in self-defence he adhered to the old indigenous custom of referring his disputes to the elders of his own class or cast; and this, in my opinion, is the origin of the punchayet.

her innocence by drinking "the waters of jealousy." * The ordeal of the "red drink" employed at this day by the Negroes of the Gold Coast resembles the Hebrew custom very closely, † Ordeal by fire was known to the ancient Greeks; for, in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, a person suspected of crime declares himself ready "to handle hot iron and walk over fire." Fire-ordeal and water-ordeal were both common in Europe during the dark ages, and though the custom itself has been extinct since about 1200 A.D., the "phrase of going through fire and water" has survived in colloquial speech ‡ The water-ordeal as practised in England in those days, was the same as that now practised by Kanjars. It consisted "in casting the person suspected into a river or "pond of cold water, and if he floated therein without any act "of swimming, it was deemed an evidence of his guilt; but if he "sunk, he was acquitted."§ The same test is very widely used at the present day among all the indigenous races of Central India, whose stage of culture approximates to that of Kanjars in Northern India. The forms in which the ordeal is applied are various; but the substance is the same. || In all cases, if the person is guilty, it is because he is too impure for such a pure element as water to keep him: he is therefore thrown up to the surface, and declared guilty, while the innocent man sinks and is acquitted. Among the Hindus at the present day both fire-ordeal and water-ordeal, with a few other methods, are largely practised. ¶ The former was imported into India by the foreign

* Numbers, Chap. V, verses 11-31.

† *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under article *ordeal*; 8th Edit, 1860.

‡ By a decree of the Lateran Council, held in 1215 A. D., trial by ordeal, or *vulgaris purgatio*, was declared to be the judgment of the Devil, and not the judgment of God.

§ *Blackstone's Commentaries*, Vol. IV, chap. 27.

|| Two varieties are described in *Asiatic Studies* by Sir A. Lyall, edit. 1882, p. 83, chap. IV. Both are employed for determining the guilt or innocence of a woman suspected of witchcraft. In the one case, the suspected woman is sent down into the water holding a pole fixed upright in the mud. If she can keep herself down, while one man shoots an arrow and another runs and fetches it back to the place from which it was shot, she is declared innocent: but if she rises to the surface, she is declared guilty. In the other case the suspected person is sewn up in a sack, which is let down into the water about three feet deep. If she gets her head above the water, this is considered a proof of guilt. The former method prevails among the Hunting and Fishing Tribes of Berar. See Berar Census, 1881, p. 135.

¶ Amongst the Hindus there are altogether nine different kinds of ordeal; the balance; fire; water; poison; *koska*, or the water in which an idol has been washed; rice; boiling oil; red hot iron; and images. Sitā, the wife of Rāma, was made to prove her purity by passing through a bonfire, and fire-ordeals are still held in higher repute than any others.

Arya tribes from Persia, to whom fire was the most sacred element. The latter (as we have seen) is the indigenous custom of the Indian people.

The language which Kanjars speak to the outside world is the ordinary Hindi or Hindustani spoken throughout Northern India. But among themselves they have a secret language, which no one but a Kanjar can follow. From the specimens which I have been able to collect, (and these were acquired for me by a native with the greatest difficulty), this seems to be chiefly based upon Hindi, with certain inflections which perhaps have been derived from some old *Prakrita* dialect now obsolete. Some of the words, however, seem to have no connection whatever with any of the tongues now written or spoken in India. The following are a few specimens of the names collected :—

<i>Kanjar words.</i>		<i>English meaning.</i>	
* टोप्रा	(toprá) ...	... Cloth.	
डेह्वारी	(démhari) ...	... Bread.	
फेंसनी	(phéushani) ...	... Pulse.	
* खालु	(khálu) ...	... Potato.	
* खाक्	(khák) ...	... Fire.	
निमानी	(nimáni) ...	... Water.	
* बपहिला	(bapahilá) ...	... Father.	
* छहंतारी	(chbahantári) ...	... Mother.	
* गिहारी	(gihári) ...	... Wife.	
* छहिन्	(chhahin) ...	... Sister.	
* ककेहला	(kakehalá) ...	... Uncle.	
* रैल	(rail) ...	... Ox.	
पिडहेला	(pidhelá) ...	... Tree.	
रोस	(rósu) ...	... Wheat.	
घोर्ना	(ghorná) ...	... Gram.	
रिब	(rib) ...	... A mat house.	
खोभडा	(khojhdhá) ...	... Rupee.	
चिबडा	(chibdhá) ...	... Rupee.	

and, as far as the main outlines are concerned, a complete exposition of the Radical programme for the future government of England's Eastern empire, which Lord Ripon has been commissioned to inaugurate, but the full scope of which it is not considered politic to avow officially.

The suggestion that the subjection of European British subjects in India to the jurisdiction of native Magistrates is intended to pave the way for the general supersession of British by native Magistrates and Judges, has, in spite of the plain-speaking of the less reticent members of the party at home been repudiated by the Government of India in the most unqualified terms. But such a supersession is only a minor item in the great series of changes comprised in the openly avowed programme of Lord Ripon's party, and dispassionately stated in the book before us, as not only reasonable and desirable, but inevitable.

Countries," says Mr. Cotton, "have often ere now been conquered and obeyed their conquerors, but the rule of an alien bureaucracy is an attempt foredoomed to failure."

"And we have taught the Indian to appreciate the change. So long as Government was limited to the simple duties of maintaining order, enforcing justice, and collecting revenue, unreasoning obedience was easy, despite occasional anomalies. The old-fashioned Anglo-Indian did not always make himself loved, but he was respected as belonging to a higher order of humanity. He had a different language, a different education, different thoughts, and a different theory of administration. If the natives could appreciate him at all, it was just in so far as he had adopted some of their ways. This order of things died with the Company. The modern ideal is to transplant the full-grown tree of European civilisation into an Asiatic soil. An active central Government, stimulating material progress, trying experiments in legislation, subsidising education, and allowing liberty to the press, has superseded the lazy reign of individual Anglo-Indians. The whole land is a th with criticism and fresh proposals of reform. And it is of the essence of the new order that the natives should themselves take part in it. Together with our own language, we have taught them the lessons of industrial prosperity and of constitutional freedom. By so doing we have indirectly, but not less surely, sapped the foundations of our own supremacy. A stationary India, governed by Anglo-Indians, might conceivably remain stable. A progressive India, with rulers selected by competitive examination from English and natives indiscriminately, has entered upon an era of change the end of which none can foresee."

Do Mr. Cotton's clients, then, propose to abandon the natives of

India to their own devices free from all restraint or guidance from without? By no means. Stated in this bald way, the programme of India for the Indians might safely be treated as perfectly harmless, because too obviously impracticable to be ever seriously entertained by responsible statesmen. What is intended is the gradual parcelling out of the country into independent Native States under a British protectorate. In the restoration of Maisur to native rule, we have seen the first step towards the consummation of this plan; and possibly Dhulip Singh may yet live to be the ruler of a semi-independent Panjab.

“The emancipation of India” need not necessarily involve a total severance from the British Crown though it would involve the destruction of the English supremacy and the grant of a large measure of local independence. Home Rule for India, as Home Rule has been already conceded to Canada and to the Australian colonies, is by no means inconsistent with the unity of the empire—last of all when we anticipate what the empire will probably be like fifty years hence. And we can press the analogy somewhat closer. Canada is a sort of confederacy; neither Australia nor South Africa has yet entered into the political stage of confederation. India, on the other hand, is only united in external show. In her case Home Rule would mean the restitution of local independence to twenty different provinces or states, which might well find their common head in England.”

Again:—

“It would not be such a very difficult task when once the general principle is conceded. An English army, or at least an army officered by Englishmen, would probably be required, even after the presence of English civilians had become rare; for England, in her capacity of protector, might maintain the obligation of guarding India both against any new conqueror and against internal strife. A confederacy of many states and provinces, each developing peacefully after its own fashion, and all united by a common bond to the English name, is our dream for the twentieth century.”

Though this plan would as certainly end in ruin as the “big and baggage policy,” the rock on which it would be wrecked lies beneath the surface; and there is but too much reason to fear lest its existence should be ignored till retreat becomes impossible.

This is the ultimate goal at which the Radical party aim, and the arguments in its favour are such as possess a dangerous attractiveness for the average untravelled Englishman. In the meanwhile the way is to be prepared by getting rid of the Civil Service, whose “*esprit de corps*” pledges it to the support of the existing order.”

We again quote Mr. Cotton: "

"A more genuine obstacle to innovation is presented by the circumstances of the Civil Service. Its members, selected in England by rigorous competition, present the choicest product of Western culture. From the newly-arrived Assistant Magistrate to the Lieutenant-Governor of a Province, they form an administrative hierarchy, bound together by close ties of loyalty and self-interest. They possess a monopoly of all the most valuable appointments, which they can support by an appeal to the Act of Parliament under which they serve. Considering the conditions of their life—exile from home and often separation from family, and severe duties in a tropical climate—and comparing their income with the prospects they might reasonably have entertained in England, it cannot be said that their average salary is excessive. Their incorruptibility, their energy, their self-sacrifice, are above praise. The work they do is of an altogether exceptional character, which none could perform but themselves. They *are* the administration personified, with all its merits and defects. To introduce discontent among them would be to shake the whole fabric, which rests upon their devotion, scarcely less than upon the might of the army. Yet, after all, the Civil Service exists for India, not India for the Civil Service. To reconcile the interests of each will be a most delicate problem, and it presses for solution. The admission of natives without competition to certain grades of subordinate office is an idle device, so long as the phalanx of the covenanted Service remains unbroken. Granting that the vested rights (and even the contingent expectations) of individuals must be guarded, and granting also that some degree of European control will be necessary for years to come, the Indians may fairly claim to be entrusted at once with a share of the higher posts—executive as well as judicial. Considerations of economy here coincide with the demands of justice. It will be necessary to look for the native candidates until they are found. Nor must it be said that the experiment will have failed entirely, if it do not entirely succeed. A native administration can never be the same thing as an English administration. To wait for that to come about would be to wait till the Ethiopian shall have changed his skin. But a native administration stimulated by English example, and still supervised by Englishmen, is a not unworthy political ideal."

We have said that the plan of a confederacy of Native States, with England as the paramount Power, would as certainly end in failure as the "bag and baggage policy" pure and simple, though it is quite probable that it might work for a time. It would end in failure because such a confederacy would certainly, sooner or

later, use its united power to throw off all allegiance to England, and, if it succeeded in that, would, after a further interval, as certainly split up into a number of hostile sections, which, in their struggle for supremacy, would reduce the country to anarchy.

To guard against the first of these contingencies England would have to at least double her present army, for the withdrawal of Civil control, coupled with the facilities for combined action which a federation of Native States would imply, would add enormously to the aggressive strength of the population of India as a whole.

It is not certain, however, that the British Government would ever be permitted by its own countrymen in India to carry out in its entirety any such plan as that contemplated. When once the true character of its design is thoroughly apprehended, every step in the programme will be the signal for determined opposition on the part of the entire European community, which is daily gaining in strength, and which, even now, if united, would probably be powerful enough to compel a respectful, if not a humble, hearing.

Mr. Cotton's estimate of the "Effects of British rule in India" is admirably balanced, and shows a remarkably clear insight into the more intimate conditions of the problem.

That the entire surface of India has never before been so densely populated as at the present time may be admitted. But it is not so certain that the richer tracts now support more than they once did. The recent increase has chiefly been in provinces where there is abundance of waste land; and even of this waste land it must be recollected that much had been cultivated at some previous period. The case of Oudh should induce us to distrust vague statements about the growth of population under British rule. That province was annexed in 1856 on the ground of intolerable misgovernment. In the following year the Mutiny broke out, and for more than twelve months civil war raged in every district. We should expect, therefore, to find the number of the people, if not small, at least rapidly increasing. But the actual figures, so far as they show anything, show the actual converse. The first census of Oudh was taken in 1858, only ten years after the Mutiny, and it gave a total of 11,220,232 souls, being 468 per square mile, or more than 1 to every cultivated acre. This was by far the greatest density in India that of Bengal being only 383, and that of the North-Western Provinces being 378. But this is not all. The second census of Oudh was taken in 1881, and showed an increase of less than 200,000 souls, or only 1.6 per cent in thirteen years, as compared with an increase of 35 per cent. in British Burmah, and of 25 per cent. in the Central Provinces. No famine or other exceptional event had intervened. From this we learn two things—first, that a province scarcely recovered from native misrule and all the horrors of war could yet maintain a man to every acre; and second, that the increase under British Government has been insignificant, probably not greater than the increase of cultivation. It is evident from these figures that native rule (or misrule, if the phrase be preferred) is not incompatible with a dense population. The truth is that the population of India (like that of every other country) will always be just as dense as the circumstances permit and never any denser.

In India emigration is not one of the circumstances that have to be considered. Agriculture, indeed, is there the sole circumstance. Where waste land permits, population increases fast, only less fast than in America; elsewhere it increases slowly, if at all. The cause that here prevents the increase (directly or indirectly) is simply want of food. This must ever be so where agriculture forms the sole occupation of the people; and just in proportion to the degree that other industries existed in the old days, so had the population a larger margin within which to increase.

When we turn to the material condition of the people under British rule, we find the primary principles reversed. The central government has become stable, while the rural population seems to be losing its secular equilibrium. We have introduced into India the European conception of a state, with a minutely-organised administration, backed by irresistible force. This we have done deliberately, under the honest belief that we were thereby conferring the greatest of political benefits. But we have unawares poured new wine into old bottles. The change has indeed been slow, and is by no means yet finished. The first few generations of English rulers left things pretty much to take their course. They attempted, with more or less success, to fit themselves into their Oriental surroundings. In their time the condition of the people must have been almost the same as under native rule, except that local courts no longer afforded opportunities to the energetic and employment to artisans. But within the last thirty years a revolution has been wrought in the views of the Governors and in the condition of the governed, which is proceeding with accelerated rapidity. The revolution dates from the epoch of Lord Dalhousie, who carried out into practice his doctrine that the blessings of British rule should be forced upon the people. The theory implied in this doctrine received a temporary check from the Mutiny. It has since been indirectly stimulated by the results of steamships and railways, and directly by the most active English administrators.

The consequences may be seen everywhere, but more especially in the land system, for this is the one point of our administration that is felt in every home. As has been already stated, the land system varies in the different provinces, but the more important features are common to every province but Bengal. The assessment is struck after a most elaborate calculation, and the average rate cannot be thought high in consideration of the increase of price that has taken place. It is fixed for a long term of years, with the object of allowing the occupier to derive any profit from the probable increment. No Irish farmer could ask for more, yet the results have not answered the expectation. Over the large tracts the cultivating class is not only impoverished but demoralised; hardly anywhere can they be said to be prosperous. It has already been argued that the evil is caused by rack-renting. If that were all, it could be easily remedied. It is caused by the introduction of a rigid system, to which the people were not accustomed. Under native rule the assessment was probably no less high, and occasionally it may have been extracted by torture; but custom allowed it to vary with the proceeds of the harvest, and there was always a chance of evasion, and, in the last resource, of flight. The insistence even of a Mughal tax-gatherer was tempered by a regard for future supplies. According to our theory, bad years ought to be set off against good; but the simple husbandman is unable to keep for himself even the profits of good years. He is permanently under the power of the money-lender, who is the only person that has benefited by a low assessment and rigorous collection. While the revenue officers are compelled to proceed against the defaulting peasant, the judicial courts offer every facility to the astute money-lender,

who knows precisely how and when to take proceedings. Such is the result of the application to India of the European maxims of fixed taxation and ready justice. The mischief, however, has been recognised by the Government; and three measures of relief are now under consideration: (1) To shelter the peasant against his natural enemy by altering the law of debt and mortgage in his favour; (2) To empower the Collectors to postpone and even remit revenue; (3) To establish land banks under official patronage, which shall be content with a moderate rate of interest. The aim of these reforms is no less benevolent than was the aim of the original assessment; but when the traditional stability of village agriculture has once been disturbed, it is impossible to predict how it will again settle down.

Take, again, the question of the wealth of the country at large. The total population is certainly larger (probably, much larger) than it has ever been at any previous period, which is equivalent to saying that more land is now under cultivation. That the population is advancing, or will advance, too rapidly for the capacity of the soil to support it, we do not believe. In a purely agricultural country such dangers have their own natural cure. But if the security of British rule has allowed the people to increase, it does not follow that it has promoted the general prosperity. That could only be done in one of two ways—either by producing a distinct rise in the standard of living among the lowest class, or by diverting a considerable section of the people from the sole occupation of agriculture. It is needless to point out that neither of these things has been done. Competent authorities, indeed, are of opinion that the condition of the lowest class has become worse under British rule. Sir Richard Temple expresses himself as doubtful on this point. Dr. W. W. Hunter estimates that one-fifth of the total population, or 40 million persons, “go through life on insufficient food.” To improve the general standard of this miserable class is beyond the reach of any external measures. But possibly their sole dependence upon agriculture might be modified by the creation of other means of livelihood, and thus the pressure on the soil be lessened. Something has already been accomplished in this direction. And here it becomes important to point out that it is not dependence upon agriculture generally, but dependence upon the local food crop in particular that constitutes the mischief. A community entirely engaged in agriculture, or even entirely engaged in raising food crops, may be comparatively well-to-do, if not prosperous. This may be seen in the case of the Western States of America, or even in the case of British Burmah. The whole matter turns upon two questions—whether the cultivators produce more than they consume? and what becomes of the surplus? Throughout India the conditions vary. In Burmah and in parts of Eastern Bengal there is a considerable surplus; in the irrigated tracts of the North-West, in the Madras deltas, and in the cotton districts of Bombay and Central India, a fair surplus; in the rest of the country, probably very little. Whether that surplus takes the form of rice, or jute, or wheat, or cotton, is immaterial. Secondly, what becomes of this surplus? That it is practically all exported does not affect the present argument. We want to find out now who enjoy the immediate benefits of it. These might be appropriated by the State, as indeed they are to a limited extent, by means of an augmented land-tax and an export duty on rice; and thus they would tend to relieve the burden of taxation proper. They might be intercepted by landlords in the form of rent; but even under the *zamindari* system of Bengal this is hardly the case to any appreciable degree. They might again be allowed to remain with the cultivators themselves, so far at least as the non-interference of the State can allow them to remain there; and this, we are glad to believe, happens in Burmah and parts of Bengal. The cultivators here are probably as well off as any peasantry

in the world. Their prosperity is evidenced by their display of silver ornaments, and their purchases of clothing. Lastly, and as a subordinate alternative, these surplus profits which the law leaves to the cultivators they may by their own folly transfer to the money-lenders. We have too much reason to fear that this has occurred in the richest portions of Bombay.

A further question, not unconnected with those we have been considering, is concerned with the destination of the surplus. Under native rule it was of necessity consumed in the country. It went either to support the luxury of courts, or to encourage local manufactures. In either event it tended to promote variety in political and social life, which is in itself a good thing. At the present time by far the larger portion is exported, and thus fails to influence any other people in the country than its own producers. To talk of this export as a drain upon India is inaccurate. If a Government spends its revenue, or a landlord his rents, or a capitalist his dividends in a foreign land, such expenditure may be termed a loss to the home country. But, as already said, the greater part of the surplus we are talking about does not come under any of these heads. It is absolutely the property of the peasant, which he barter with England for silver and cloth. During the past forty years India has consumed English cotton manufactures to the aggregate value of more than 400 millions sterling and has absorbed 300 millions of treasure.

Yet one other aspect of the matter deserves to be mentioned. It is sometimes alleged that the exports must be a loss to the country, because in former days the surplus was not exported but consumed. In so far as the surplus existed in former days, and was then either appropriated by the State or exchanged against local manufactures, this argument has some justification—if not from the point of view of political economy, at least from that of national well-being. But the real answer to it is that the surplus did not exist in former times to anything like the same extent as now. It has been created, not so much by the security of British rule as by the extraordinary activity of modern trade. Jute has been invented, if we may so say, within the last thirty years. Improvements in means of transport give an altogether new value to industry. In an isolated country there is little encouragement to increase production, and the bounty of Nature may result in mere waste. When there is no external market a harvest above the average becomes an evil rather than a benefit. Not only will part of the crops be left to rot on the fields, but also the excessive cheapness upsets the simple social economy. Of this many examples will occur to those familiar with Indian history. Mr. Lindsay, Supervisor of Sylhet in Assam, towards the end of the last century, reported that the rice harvest in two successive years had been so plentiful that, “the farmers were totally unable to pay their rents.” As late as the year 1870, it was recorded in a Bengal Administration Report, that the peasants of Dinajpur grumbled because the season was too favourable. Nor is there any ground for the assertion sometimes made that crops grown for export are unduly encroaching upon the area devoted to food. It is true that a sudden demand, such as that caused by the recent famine in Southern India, may deplete the stores of grain which every Indian peasant lays up against a bad season. But where the demand is fairly constant, the supply is always derived from the superfluity. It will be found universally that the great exporting districts of India are not only the most prosperous but also the least liable to suffer from scarcity. Railways, canals, and steamships are probably the most unmixed benefits that England has conferred upon India; and of these we are disposed to place steamships first.

If we turn to the classes not engaged in agriculture, we shall probably be forced to the conclusion, that their state has not improved under British

rule. The weavers have suffered conspicuously. From some parts of the country this caste has almost disappeared, and everywhere it is in a decaying condition. Lancashire has attained its pre-eminence by annihilating the indigenous industry—first by prohibitive duties in England, and then by the competition of machinery. The recent establishment of steam mills at Bombay and elsewhere, affords a poor compensation for the variety of social life once spread through the country. With the weavers have gone the numerous caste of dyers. In the same way many other handicrafts have suffered either from the abolition of the native courts or from English rivalry. Carpet-making, fine embroidery, jewellery, metal work, the damascening of arms, saddlery, carving, paper-making, even architecture and sculpture, have all alike decayed. In some cases the change is to be regretted, not only as impairing the social economy, but as an absolute loss to the artistic treasures of the world. Processes have been forgotten, and hereditary aptitudes have fallen into disuse, which can now never be restored. An India supplying England with its raw products, and in its turn dependent upon England for all its more important manufactures, is not a picture that we can expect the Indians to contemplate with entire satisfaction.

What answer, then, would a witness, with full knowledge and absolute impartiality, give to the question, whether India has benefited by British rule? He would admit that the population has largely increased, and that the aggregate amount of human pleasure (or pain) has been made by so much greater. He would admit that the people, both on British territory, and in states still native, are protected against the grosser forms of misrule, and against the storms of cruelty that used occasionally to sweep through the land. He would admit that the British Government has made strenuous efforts, at least in recent years, to ameliorate the condition of the masses. But he would probably doubt whether the good results have been equal to the good intentions. On the general issue he would hardly feel himself justified in pronouncing a final verdict. A Government can easily obstruct prosperity; it can do comparatively little to promote it. That must depend, after all, upon the people themselves. The State can maintain peace without, and justice within. It can avoid harassing taxation, and can remove artificial restraints upon commerce. But these things are negative rather than positive. They are the absence of wrong rather than the presence of right. They constitute good order. They do not necessarily involve progress. The springs of national development lie deep in human nature, and may escape the reach of an alien administrator who does not possess the divining rod. To introduce the complex machinery of Western civilisation into the simple society of the East is an experiment of which the present generation cannot prudently foretell the result. Japan is trying this experiment with its own native agency. In India, the same experiment is being tried on a far grander scale, and the responsibility rests with the people of England.

Esoteric Buddhism. By A. G. Sinnett, President of the Simla Eclectic Theosophical Society, Author of "The Occult World." London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1883.

THE author of *Esoteric Buddhism* asks us to accept a certain account of the evolution, constitution, and future development of the universe and man,—not as a conclusion, based on inductive evidence; not as a theory, furnishing an adequate

explanation of known data, but as a fact, based upon positive knowledge; and he asks us to do this on the ground, as far as we can gather, that he himself believes the account to be true, not because it is a logical inference from facts which he has himself observed, but because he has been assured of its truth by certain individuals in whose veracity and competency he puts absolute faith.

When we come to enquire into the grounds of this faith, we find them to consist in the estimate which Mr. Sinnett has formed of the morality of the individuals in question, combined with the fact that he believes them to have performed certain feats which are beyond the power of mankind in general to perform, and the performance of which he can explain only on the supposition that they possess a knowledge of natural laws unattainable by the ordinary scientific methods of observation and reasoning. Supposing that, for the sake of argument we grant all the data thus postulated, Mr. Sinnett's demand appears to us to amount to this, that we are justified in accepting, without independent proof, any statement, however it may transcend ordinary experience and means of verification, that may be made by any one in whose good faith he himself believes, and who appears to him to have performed feats which mankind generally are unable to perform, and the *modus operandi* of which we cannot explain.

We need hardly say that this is a monstrous proposition, to accept which would be to place our belief at the absolute disposal of any mystic, plausible enough to disarm suspicion of his honesty, and clever enough to deceive our senses. Indeed, we might go much further and grant, as facts, what Mr. Sinnett asks us to accept as matters of faith, *viz.* that the author, or authors, of the statements made are really honest; that the feats they appear to perform are actually performed, and that their performance is the result of a knowledge of natural laws unattainable by ordinary methods. Still, it would not follow, either that the favoured individuals in question were beyond the influence of self-deception, or that the knowledge which enabled them to perform the feats appealed to, implied an acquaintance with other truths not necessarily connected therewith.

Mr. Sinnett may, perhaps, contend that this is not a complete account of the nature of the testimony offered by him in support of the statements of Esoteric Buddhism, inasmuch as we have omitted to take into consideration what he has told us regarding the method by which the illuminati who make them, arrive at their knowledge of occult things. The claims of these statements on our assent are weakened, however, rather than strengthened, when we come to examine the information afforded

us on this head. For, vague as that information is as to details, it is clear enough as regards the general character of the method pursued. We are told, on the one hand, that the knowledge obtained is arrived at by intuition, and, on the other, that the state of mind in which this intuition takes place, is a peculiar state, which can be induced only by long and painful discipline. Now it follows from the very nature of intuition that, in the absence of verification by the senses, it is impossible to ascertain whether the relations apprehended by it are purely subjective, or correspond to relations between objective facts, and the subject-matter of the statements of Esoteric Buddhism is such as to render verification through the senses impossible.

But, we may be told, though verification through the senses may be impossible, comparison of the intuitions of different individuals is possible. Now, in the first place, we have no evidence that the conclusions of Esoteric Buddhism are based on any such comparison; and, in the second place, even if we had such evidence, it would not prove the objectivity of the relations apprehended, for we should still have no evidence that the agreement was not the result of a common aberration, induced by the operation of similar processes on the different minds concerned.

We all know that, by subjecting the eye to a certain preparatory discipline, any one who pleases may seem to see an image of a certain colour and form where there is really only a blank surface. If several individuals subject their eyes to the same disciplinary process, the images they will thus seem to see will all correspond in colour and form. Yet these images are purely subjective, and the fact that they are seen by different individuals in the same way is no proof of their objective existence. And if intuitions arrived at by different minds in a state of abstraction induced by the same or similar processes, are found to correspond in many particulars, even when concerned with such questions as the constitution of the universe, we are just as little entitled to regard the correspondence as proof of their truth.

The Legends of the Panjab. By Captain R. C. Temple, Bengal Staff Corps, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, Member of the Royal Asiatic, Philological, and Folklore Societies, the Anthropological Institute, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. No. 1. August 1883. Bombay: Education Society's Press. London: Trübner & Co.

THE series of folk-tales of which this is the first instalment promises to form a valuable contribution not merely to the study of comparative storiology but to our practical,

knowledge of Indian life and thought. Considering the richness of the field, wonderfully little has yet been done towards collecting and preserving the unwritten literature of India, and Captain Temple deserves the gratitude of scholars for his labours in this direction.

The Adventures of Rájá Rasálu, which have been selected to head the series are, we are told, especially valuable. "The legend gives a hint of the true history of that Indo-Scythian hero, who may yet be identified with Sri Syâiapati Deva, whose coins are still found in such abundance all over the Panjab, and who must have flourished between the first Arab invasion of Sindh and Kabul and the rise of the Ghaznavide Dynasty. It also contains in places the most remarkable analogies to the almost universal stories of the *Seven Wise Men*, the germs of which are to be found in the *Sukasaptati* and *Panchatantra* in India, and in the *Story of Sindibâd* in Europe and Asia, repeated in Arabic in the *Alif Laila*, in Persian in the *Sindibâduâma* and the *Tâtînâma*, in Greek and Syriac in the *Story of Synripas*, in the Hebrew *Mishle Sandabar*, and in Spanish in the *Libro de los Engaños de las Mujeres*, besides many modern versions in most of the languages of Europe and in the *bâzâr* books of modern India.

The versified passages in the legend possess considerable philological interest, and have been given, in every instance, verbatim.

Across Chryse, being the Narrative of a Journey of Exploration through the South China Border Lands from Canton to Mandalay. By Archibald R. Colquhoun, Executive Engineer, Indian Public Works, F.R.G.S., A. M. Inst. C. E. In two volumes, London : Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington. 1883.

MR. COLQUHOUN'S volumes are full of interest, not only as a graphic narrative of travel through some of the most picturesque country in the world, but as demonstrating the possibility of an Englishman, wholly ignorant of the language, traversing nearly the entire breadth of China without coming into serious collision with the natives. Mr. Colquhoun, no doubt, enjoyed the advantage of a safe conduct from the Viceroy of the "Two Kwangs," which stood him in good stead throughout this part of the journey, but similar documents have before now been set at nought by both mobs and local officials in China, and our traveller's success must be largely attributed to the prudence with which he avoided all chance of hostile encounter, and

possibly to his adoption of the native costume, which tended to render his presence, as a "foreign devil," as little obtrusive as possible. The question whether it is good policy for a European to assume the native garb when travelling among unfriendly oriental peoples, is a vexed one, and it can hardly be said that the present instance decides it. There is, no doubt, much to be urged on both sides. In travelling by river, where the main object is to avoid attracting undesirable attention from a distance, the balance of argument is, perhaps, in favour of the plan. But where a traveller is brought constantly into intimate contact with the people, it probably rather adds to than diminishes his danger.

Mr. Colquhoun was frustrated, by the passive obstruction of the local authorities, in his intention of leaving Chinese territory at Esmok and making his way through the Independent and Tributary Shan States to Moulmein. But his journey through Yunnan and Upper Burma, if not so fruitful of new knowledge, is probably quite as interesting to the general reader.

Mr. Colquhoun's style, while simple and unaffected, is impressive and picturesque. While he avoids all approach to wearisome disquisition, his comments on men and things are pregnant with practical wisdom; and it would be difficult to name a book calculated to be more instructive to any one following in his footsteps than "Across Chryse."

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

1. *Bhārat-Kāhinī*. By Rajani Kanta Gupta. Printed by Bhuban Mohan Ghosh, at the Victoria Press, 210-1, Cornwallis Street and published by Gurudās Chattopādhyāya, at the Bengal Medical Library, 97, College Street, Calcutta. 1883.
2. *Arya-kirtī*. By Rajani Kanta Gupta. Second Edition. Printed by Sarachchandra Deb, at the Binā Press, 37, Mechuabazar Street, and Published by Gurudās Chattopādhyāya, at the Bengal Medical Library, 97, College Street, Calcutta. 1883.

BABU Rajani Kanta Gupta has, we believe, done more to popularise Indian history than any other Bengali writer. He is neither an antiquary nor an original writer on Indian history. He works with materials collected by others. And yet he is a writer who stands almost alone among writers on Indian history. The reason is that, though he has no new information to give us, or any new theory to explain, his manner of explaining Indian history is different from that of English historians of India. It is the manner of a patriot—of a Hindu who desires

that his country's history should be so explained and studied as to fill the Hindu mind with patriotic pride and historic enthusiasm. He draws his topics chiefly from Rajputana and the Panjab, and occasionally from other parts of India. Of the two works under notice, the second, *Arya-Kirti*, is the first of a series in which "the story of the exploits and achievements of the Hindu Aryas will be gradually unfolded." The author intends, by publishing this series, to serve a great educational purpose. He thinks that the Indian mind is greatly denationalised, and therefore demoralised by the present system of teaching chiefly foreign history and biography in Indian schools. By this system the Indian is taught to think of men and manners in a style which is not of this country, and consequently, he becomes unfit to serve his own countrymen. That there is some truth in this view, cannot, we think, be denied. No man can be blamed for not serving one whom he does not respect. Well, Indian history does, indeed, find a place among the studies of our schools and colleges; but that is only the portion of Indian history in which the Hindu finds himself beaten or outwitted by foreigners. We therefore hail Babu Rajani Kanta's historical series as one which will do much to remedy the defects of the system of teaching which is followed in our schools and colleges.

Bhārat-Kāhini consists of a number of essays connected with Indian history and politics. The subjects touched upon are—the Aryan settlement in India, Asoka, the Greeks in India, Indian religious sects, Jagat Seth, the martial prowess of Bengalis, Buddhism, the liberty of the Press in India, &c., All these subjects are treated in a plain popular style, and in a spirit of love and respect for the author's own country. To one of the essays in this collection we would draw the attention of our readers, and especially of Bengali school boys. Most people in this country believe that Jagat Seth was the name, and not the title, of a man. The error, we are inclined to think, has its origin in some of the historical works which are used in our schools, and is, we have reason to say, firmly rooted in the minds of some of our most distinguished scholars. Jagath Seth, as a perusal of the paper in Babu Rajani Kanta's book will convince every one, was not a name, but a title embodying an exceedingly interesting personal and political history.

Upanyās-ratnāvali. Part I—Nos. 1, 2 and 3. By Dāmodar Mukhopādhyāya. Printed and published by H. M. Mukharji & Co., at the New Sanskrit Press, 11, Simla Street, Calcutta.

THIS is a serial containing Bengali translations of three English works of fiction,—Bulwer's *Kenzi*, Scott's *Bride of*

Lammermoor and Wilkie Collins' *Woman in White*. The translator deserves praise, because the works he has selected for translation are not of the class of Reynold's *Mysteries*, which many of his countrymen seem fond of rendering into their own vernacular. But we are not sure whether he deserves other praise than this. In the first place, we are not quite sure whether Bengalis, who do not know English, care to read stories in which the thoughts, sentiments, and actions of *foreigners* are described. The story, for instance, of a political movement, like that which was headed by Rienzi, cannot be expected to evoke much sympathy or interest among a class of readers, who do not care much for forms of political life, or know not what political life means. In the second place, Babu Dámodar Mukharji's plan of relating foreign stories with Indianised names of places and persons—a plan which seems followed more largely in *Rienzi* than in the other tales—is positively misleading and injurious. In this plan, Bengalis appear thinking, feeling, and acting like persons which they are not. It would have been in every respect better if, following the advice of Babu Kaliprasanna Ghosh, Babu Dámodar Mukharji had given us a strictly literal translation, or if, in accordance with the advice of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji, he had given us neither a literal translation nor a free version. The enrichment of Bengali literature is the plea on which such versions are generally published. But it should be always borne in mind that translations and versions are after all borrowed wealth, and no one can be considered truly rich with borrowed money. Bengali litterateurs should therefore pay as much attention as possible to the cultivation of their own resources.

Mánabatattwa, or a Treatise on the Social, Moral and Intellectual Position of Man. By Bireswar Pánde. Printed and published by H. M. Mukharji & Co., at the New Sanskrit Press, 11 Simla Street, Calcutta 1883.

IT is seldom that we come across a work like this in Bengali literature. The abstruse questions of creation, creative power, the soul-element in man, man's past and future states of existence, the existence of God, the criterion of human duty, liberty and equality, &c., are discussed by the author with great power of thought, great ingenuity, and great boldness and enthusiasm. What is written on these subjects seems to embody the result of careful study and deep meditation. The style in which the essays are written, really challenges admiration. It is remarkably clear, pertinent and impressive, indicating clear thought and deep and earnest conviction. It is a bold and vigorous, but beautifully plain and

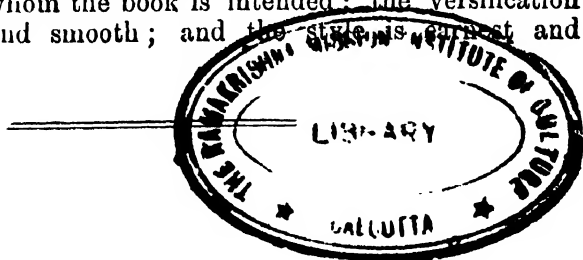
simple style. The author appears to revel in the subjects which are dwelt upon in this work, and to enjoy keenly the indescribable luxury of discussing them. On social subjects, the author writes like a conservative. We do not go with him entirely, but we are glad to be able to state, that we agree in almost all his conclusions on the subject of Zenana seclusion, early marriage, widow-marriage, &c. Babu Bireswar Pánde is a thinker of a practical turn of mind, and seems to have been therefore betrayed into some errors by placing undue reliance on the results of statistical inquiries. But in spite of all his errors, his work is really an admirable performance—an exceedingly valuable and interesting contribution to Bengali literature.

Astádas Bidyá. Part I. By Ráya Gobinda Mohan Bidyábinod-báridhi. Printed by I. C. Basu & Co., at the Stanhope Press, 249, Bow-bazar Street, Calcutta, and published by the Author at Kákiná. 1883.

BABU GOBINDA MOHAN ROY is very favourably known to our readers as the author of some interesting treatises on Hindu astronomy. His present work is equally interesting. It contains a description of the 18 main divisions or branches of Sanskrit learning, and of their numerous sub divisions. As a book of reference, *Astádas Bidyá* is a work of great value. It is the result of vast patient study and clear erudition. Babu Gobinda Mohan Roy is a literary workman of a very serious, earnest and elevated type—of the type which sustains a nation's literature and constitutes its real strength.

Balyasakhá. Part I. Printed and published by Ramsarbasya Bhattachárya, at the Bidhán Press, No. 6, College Square, Sakábdá. 1805.

THIS is a collection of easy and interesting poems for children. The subjects selected are likely to be of great interest to those for whom the book is intended; the versification is generally sweet and smooth; and the style is earnest and impressive.



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